National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment....Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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The Law of Slavery.

Extract of the Charge of Judge Reid to the Grand Jury of Mason (Ky) Circuit Court, June 18, 1850.

ON SLAVERY AND ABOLITIONISM.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, I give you in charge the Acts of Assembly against stealing slaves, or aiding them away from their owners. I was in the habit of enlarging upon this subject for years, with a view of proving that our General Assembly had a *right to make the law*, because it was consistent with the Bible, and necessary in order to maintain our rights. I am saved all that trouble *now*, because you understand it; and if you *doubted* heretofore, I am sure you have read enough, and heard enough, within the last five months, from the wise men of Congress, to do away all doubts.

It is settled, or will be in a short time, to the satisfaction of every lover of this *Union*, that Congress has no power to *impair or destroy the right of property in slaves*, either in States or Territories; or to do any act that shall, either directly, or by its effects, make any discrimination between the *States* of the Union; by which any of them shall be deprived of its full share and equal right in any territory of the United States, acquired, or to be acquired; or even to prohibit the transfer of slaves, from one part of the United States to another. It might be settled, also, that runaway slaves shall be delivered up to the owners, according to the *Constitution*, the *law* of Congress, bearing the signature of George Washington, and his *approval* in 1793, and so *continued* by the Supreme Court, that *no State* can pass any law making it more onerous for the *owner* to recover his slave.

I say I think we shall have this settled to our satisfaction; that every friend to the Union will rejoice that the attempts of Northern *Abolitionists* have failed; and that we shall go on to prosper, as we have done since the formation of our Government, and not be *divided* into *States*, or *sections*, as the Abolitionists and enemies to our institutions hope. This bone of contention being settled, as our *fathers settled* it in the Constitution, the miserable fanatics, who have so construed the Bible as to make themselves the *equals of negroes*, will have no excuse for rending asunder our Union, which is the *last* as it was the *first* hope of a *world*, that the *people* could *govern themselves*, under a *written* form without *Kings, Lords or Commons, Emperors or Despots*. Abolitionists may *growl* and *alarm* the *timid*, for holding their *brothers* and *sisters* in *bondage*, for *effect*, and call it a sin. We know, very well, that they do not believe it unscriptural themselves; I mean the *slaveholding portion*, or else they would seize the *last* occasion to set them free; for they *know* that after the new Constitution goes into effect, they *cannot do it*, without sending them out of the State.

I ought not to pretend to prophesy; but I have seen so much of their *deceit*, that I leave this, as John Rodgers did "the little book, for *you* to look upon," when I am dead and gone. Those *bad men* under religious *delusion*, as they *make us believe*, will groan in the *spirit*, at the *wrongs* done them by their country in *prohibiting them* from setting free their slaves without *colonizing* them.

If they believe they are *their brethren* by *blood*, why act so strangely? Would you do it? I answer for *myself* that I would not. How often have I said that the sun should not *go down* on my sin, if I believed it, and the *law* of the State was *open*, as it *still is*, to emancipate. "By their *fruits* shall ye know them."

Gentlemen, for *years* I have feared what has happened in Congress—*time* and *money*, and *labor* spent for that which *is not bread*; and I have warned you from time to time, and in my *humble way*, depicted the consequences. While, at the same time, I honored men who differed, and were in favor of emancipation from *policy*, I even honored those who were under the *delusion* that the Bible condemned it, apart from those who *used* the Bible as a scarecrow. Gentlemen, have we not cause to feel proud of Kentucky's representation in Congress, more especially in the Senate? Some *good men* became alarmed at the prospect before us, because our Senators thought Slavery *bad* policy, and were willing to adopt all *Constitutional* means to get rid of it. I take no credit to myself for declaring *at the time*, that our rights were safe in their hands; and that while I differed with them in *general*, on party principles, I could not select any in whom I would sooner confide this great right, as well as any other concerning *life, liberty or property*. The anticipated action will soon show whether I was deceived.

If we are proud of our Senators, what should the *Nation* be of such men from the non-slaveholding States, as came forward against the *prejudices* of their own States, and espouse the *Constitution* as above *party*. Loving the *Union* more than *self*, and willing to risk their popularity at home for its preservation—feeling as if they honored God in keeping their oaths to support it, more than by following in the wake of those who say they have a right to violate it.

Why, gentlemen, just think, if our *Senators* had not proved faithful, and a *few great men* from the North had not joined them, our country would have been *divided*, our Union destroyed, and liberty left without a resting-place on the globe.

Sometimes I feel like naming such as come forward to *save the Union*, and said so in an address at Pendleton, last March, when a friend whispered their names loud enough for the audience to hear; but it might be deemed improper in a Judge; and as you are reading men, I will avoid the temptation to honor men by name, as I do all who love the country, and remember their oath.

THE LAW REGULATING SLAVES.

Gentlemen: The condition and character of our slaves and free persons of color have lately provoked much complaint on the part of our citizens, and I have been requested to state officially what the law is respecting this class of persons, and how the evils suffered can be abated. This I will proceed to do with all possible brevity.

In the first place, let me remark that the execution of the law as it stands is embarrassed with almost insurmountable difficulties, and this is owing in part, as asserted in the *Advertiser* of Tuesday last, to the practice of masters "suffering their slaves to hire their own time" and permitting them "to live by themselves and do just as they please generally, so they pay their monthly wages, which in many instances are obtained by theft, or some other dishonest means rather than by honest labor. The custom encourages idleness, and of course leads to dissipation and crime." And here I will reassert what is further said in that article, that "it is impossible for the police, with all their vigilance to arrest this evil unless the owners of slaves will do *their* duty."

It may be further said that the evil will never be arested until citizens *generally* do their duty.—When a man knows of a violation of the laws of the state respecting negroes, bond or free, let him report it to the grand jury for prosecution. And in this connexion let me say that it is a general belief that the solicitor must attend to all violations of the penal laws, originate all cases before the grand jury, and in fact that he is the general police officer of the state. This is a great mistake. The only cases that law makes it his duty to originate are gaming cases, and this duty is declared by special statute; in all other cases, the business originates with the justices of the peace, corporation officers and the grand jury. The grand jury are sworn "diligently to inquire &c." and in the excepted case mentioned the duties of the solicitor do not commence until the grand jury have acted. The custom is to rely entirely upon officers, but if the people will reflect a moment they will see they utterly paralyse the efforts of officers in any attempt to execute the laws. There are at this moment a very large number of excellent worthy citizens who are by their own consent the '*agents*' for negroes who are practically free, but who are in law slaves. These negroes are permitted by their "agents" to go at large and do as they please, and if they get involved in prosecutions these "agents" are exceedingly active in endeavoring to extricate them. Is this right? Is it not imposing upon the community? If the negroes of these "agencies" are of right and in conscience free, let them leave the State.

Masters too are in the habit of selling their slaves their time, and, not regarding them any longer as their property, they permit them to go at large, and they act in every respect as free—when it must be evident to all that a master cannot contract with his slave, and if he were to do so, the law gives no validity to the contract.

There are but two classes of free negroes that have a right to remain in the State, and these are *Creoles proper* and slaves emancipated by act of the Legislature. All other negroes are the slaves in law of somebody, and if they go at large as free, under the sanction of their "agents," the grand jury will be instructed that the subjoined statute covers the case. Let every master see that his slaves are upon his own lot at night, for they may be certain, without their daily pass, they have no right to be anywhere else.

The government of slaves is eminently patriarchal, and every one who owns or hires a slave *must* watch and control him, or serious evils must result.

Under the permission of the Mayor, a master may suffer his slave to hire his or her time by the day only, but the law never contemplated that, under that permission, they might live apart from their masters. This practice *must* be stopped, if there is law to stop it.

There is also a great pest to the community in the class of insolent women who are the concubines of white men. The white man hires their time by the year, and rents a house and claims that they are upon his premises and under his protection. The owners of these female slaves are to blame for this. The example to other slaves is bad. The effects are ruinous to the contentment and morality of slaves generally. The Grand Jury should give attention to this class of cases as well as others pertaining to slaves.

And last, but not least, if the police will break up the negro drinking and gambling shops, we may hope to have some abatement of the evils complained of. But the people must co-operate with the officers and Juries:

AN ACT

To prevent slaves from going at large, and hiring their own time, &c.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened, That if any master, owner, or overseer, or other person having the management and control of any slave, shall permit such slave to go at large, or shall permit such slave to hire of such owner or other person having the management thereof, his, her or their time, or if any such person shall permit such slave to hire his, her or their time of services, to any other person, all persons so offending may be indicted for a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, be fined in a sum not less than five, or more than one hundred dollars, at the discretion of the jury trying the same: Provided, That the proper authorities of any corporate city or town, in this State, may grant license or permission to owners of slaves to allow their slaves to work out and hire their time by the day. Approved, March 6, 1848.

W. H. Platt, Solicitor.

—*Mobile Herald and Tribune.*

THE NEGROES AGAIN.

I am glad to see that Mr. Platt the efficient solicitor of this circuit. is directing public attention to the numerous violations of the laws relative to our slaves, and I trust that the grand juries of this city, will act upon his suggestions.

Let them especially prosecute every person who may have given what is erroneously termed "free papers" to a slave. There are probably, more than a hundred slaves who have "bought themselves" from their owners, the latter pocketing the money; and, under a total misapprehension or disregard of the law, withdrawing all control over the slave.—This practice is most evil and should be stopped. No master has the power to emancipate his slave in this manner. Complete freedom can only be acquired by a *special act of the legislature.*

It is true that, under the act of 1829, it is competent for the Judge of the Circuit Court, upon the petition of the owner, to emancipate his slave, but this is upon the *express condition*, that the slave shall *within twelve months leave the State.* The emancipation does not take place except in the event of a *departure* from the State. If any slave so emancipated and leaving the state, should afterwards return he at once again becomes a slave, and it is made the duty of the sheriff to apprehend and sell him as a "slave for life." [*See Clay's Digest, page* 545.

Now it is manifest that under this law, the mere order of the judge. emancipating a slave is wholy inoperative, unless followed by a removal from the State, within the time prescribed. Such an order does not divest the title of the owner, nor does it absolve him from duties and liabilities as such.—The slave is still subject to his debts, and he is still answerable for his management.

If such slave is allowed his own time, or is permitted to reside wherever he may please, the owner subjects himself to indictment, and the fact that he may have given the slave his "free papers" for a monied consideration, will constitute no defence.

Now I would ask of the "Police" if they do not know some of these "colored gentlemen" residing in this city, claiming to be "free," and by their presence and conduct, producing discontent in the slave population? If you do, gentlemen, it is your duty to report them, and it is expected that you will not "shirk" that duty. Make known the names of their *owners* in order that they may be held to account.—X.—*Mobile Herald and Tribune.*

RECOVERY OF DAMAGES FOR HARBORING AND CONCEALING RUNAWAY SLAVES.

We find the following charge of Judge McLean in the Western Law Journal, and copy it entire as relating to a subject in which the people of this State are greatly interested. Both the facts and the law are fully stated.—*Mo. Rep.*

THE STATE OF INDIANA, MAY TERM, 1850.

John Norris, *vs.* Leander Newton, *et al.*

1. Under the Constitution of the United States the master of fugitives from labor may arrest them wherever they shall be found, if he can do so without a breach of the peace, and take them back to the State from whence they fled.

2. A State Judge, on proper affidavit being made, may issue a writ of habeas corpus, and inquire into the cause of detention.

3. The affidavit of a colored person is sufficient for this purpose.

4. Every person within the jurisdiction of a State owes to it an allegiance. He is amenable to the laws of the State, and the State is bound to protect him in the exercise of his legal rights.

5. When it appears by the return of the habeas corpus, that the fugitives are in the legal custody of the master, and the facts of the return are not denied, there is an end to the jurisdiction of the State Judge.

6. His jurisdiction is special and limited.

7. When it appears the fugitives are held under the authority of the Union, it is paramount to that of the State.

8. And so when an individual is held under the authority of a State, the Federal Judiciary have no power to release the person so held.

9. If the return to the habeas corpus be denied, the master must prove that his custody of the slave is legal.

10. If he fail to do this, or make an insufficient return, the State Judge may release the fugitives.

11. But the master may subsequently arrest them, and prove them to be his slaves.

12. The master, though he may arrest without any exhibition of claim, or judicial sanction, when required, must show a right to the services of the fugitives.

Messrs. O. H. Smith and Liston, for the plaintiff. Messrs. Marshall and Jarnegin, for defendants.

CHARGE OF JUDGE MCLEAN.

Gentlemen of the Jury: The plaintiff has brought this action to recover damages for harboring and concealing four colored persons who were his slaves in Kentucky, by reason of which they were enabled to escape, and he has lost their services.

It is proved that the plaintiff is a citizen of Boone county, Kentucky, and that he held as his property, the negroes—Lucy Lewis, George and James—named in the declaration. It is also proved by several witnesses, that these negroes absconded from the service of the plaintiff, on Sunday night, the —— day of October, 1847. Otho Dowdon was at the house of the defendant on that night, saw the negroes there; but on his rising next morning, about sunrise, he was informed that they had absconded, and that the plaintiff was in pursuit of them. The witness and several other persons aided the plaintiff in his pursuit of the fugitives for more than one month, but were unable to find them. Certain articles of property, which were known to belong to the negroes, were found near Clarksburg, Indiana; but not being able to trace them farther, the pursuit was relinquished.

About two years after the slaves had absconded, the plaintiff was informed that they resided in Cass county, Michigan. He immediately set out, in company with several persons, to recapture them. On the 27th of September last, the company arived at Casopolis, a little village in the above county, about ten or eleven o'clock at night. The house where the negroes were found, was entered. A guard was placed at the door to prevent the escape of any one, and the inmates of the house were charged to make no outcry or alarm. The plaintiff, finding his negroes among others in the house, informed them that he had come to take them back to Kentucky. They recognized him, and the younger boys were willing to return- Lewis, the eldest boy, objected, as he had recently been married. The plaintiff informed him that his wife might accompany them, saying that she should be well treated. She, however, declined going with her husband. Lucy, the mother of the children, interposed one other objection than that her husband would be left beeind. David, her husband, had absconded with the others, but was not found when they were recaptured.

The four slaves were put into a wagon, Lewis having his arms tied to prevent his escape. The plaintiff's party immediately set out on their return to Kentucky, traveling the remaining part of the night. They took a circuitous route, passing through the vlllage of South Head early in the morning of the 28th of September. Between one and two miles south of that village. they stopped to take refreshments. While thus engaged, Crocker. the sheriff of the county, and others, rode up to them, and in a few minutes the company increased to one hundred and forty, or upward, some of them being armed, others had bricks, stones, or clubs. Some one of the plaintiff's party observed that force was about to be used to take the negroes from them, and they must resist it. The slaves were directed to get into a wagon, and weapons were drawn. Crocker, one of the defendants, informed the plaintiff that the sheriff had a writ of habeas corpus, and that they had no other object than to ascertain whether the negroes belonged to him. The plaintiff replied that they might ask the negroes whether they were not his slaves. Crocker charged them to answer no questions, but said to the plaintiff that resistance would be useless, as there was force enough to take the negroes back to the village; but if the plaintiff would agree to return, he should have a fair trial, and it would not detain him more than an hour or two. The plaintiff consented, and returned with the negroes to South Bend.

As they approached the Court House, a great number of people, black and white, joined them. Time was given to the plaintiff to procure counsel. It appears that the first writ of habeas corpus had been issued for Lucy and Richard, the names of the other two boys not being known. After the return to the village, the first habeas corpus was abandoned, and a second writ, naming the four fugitives, was issued. This was on the forenoon of Friday. To the second writ the plaintiff returned, that "the within named persons were held in his custody as his slaves—that he was a citizen of Boone county, Kentucky, where Slavery was authorized by law, and that he had a just claim to the persons named, as his slaves, by the laws of that State—that sometime in the month of October, 1847, the said slaves had absconded and fled from his service in said State, and took refuge in the State of Michigan, where he found them on the 27th inst., and then and there arrested them as fugitives from labor, and took them into his custody, and that he was on his journey to Boone county, Ky., with them as his own slaves and property, they being fugitives from labor."

The counsel who appeared for the negroes moved the Judge, who allowed the writ, and before whom it was made returnable, to discharge the negroes, on the ground of the insufficiency of the return; and the case was argued by the counsel on both sides. The Court House was crowded with spectators, and great numbers remained outside of the house, there not being room for them within it. Several of the persons within the house were armed with clubs. The crowd became much excited as the argument was in progress.

Under the apprehension that the Judge would discharge the fugitives, the plaintiff, by the advice of his counsel, applied for, and obtained, a warrant to arrest the slaves as fugitives from labor, under the statute of Indiana. Hearing that such an application was about to be made, Crocker, one of the defendants, who acted as counsel for the negroes, warned the State officer not to issue the warrant, as the Supreme Court of Indiana had declared the statute to be unconstitutional and void, under the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania. But the warrant was issued, and was held by the plaintiff to arrest the fugitives, should the Judge discharge them.

The Judge supposed the procedure was under the act respective fugitives from labor, 1793; and on the ground that the master had no right to arrest the fugitives to take them out of the State where the arrest was made, but for the purpose only of taking them before some judicial officer of the State, or of the United States, discharged the negroes from the custody of the plaintiff. While the Judge was pronouncing his opinion, the plaintiff, holding the writ from the State officer in his hands, arrested the fugitives under it. The opinion being pronounced, Crocker exclaimed in a loud voice, three times, the negroes were discharged—that they were free; and some one said it was the time for action, and called upon those nearest the fugitives to hand them out.

At this time, the plaintiff, touching each of the fugitives, arrested them under the warrant he held, and the party drew their weapons—one or two revolvers and knives—and, standing near the fugitives, warned the crowd not to approach them. The excitement was intense. The plaintiff claimed the protection of the Sheriff, and asked him if he would suffer the fugitives who were his property, to be forcibly taken from him. The sheriff observed that he was doing all he could to pacify the crowd; and it was finally agreed that the negroes should be put into jail, for safe keeping. The plaintiff accompanied them to the jail door, declaring that he would trust no one with the possession of them. Crocker entered the jail—shortly after, it was entered by the plaintiff with the fugitives and the Sheriff. On his coming out of the jail, Crocker pacified the crowd by informing them that the Sheriff had assured him the negroes should not be surrendered from his custody without a fair trial. This was a short time after dark, on Friday. On the same evening and the day, warrants were issued against certain persons of the plaintiff's party, charging them with a riot and other breaches of peace. One of them was fined by the Justice. Civil process was issued against the plaintiff, claiming damages, in the name of one or more of the negroes, on account of their arrest and imprisonment. Bail was required in the civil and criminal proceedings.

On Saturday, the streets of the village of South Bend were crowded with people, the greater part of whom were colored. The latter entered the village in companies, some of them bearing fire-arms, and almost all of them had clubs. Through the ensuing day the crowd increased. The number of negroes was estimated, by different witnesses, from one hundred and fifty to four hundred. Many of them came from Cass county, in Michigan.

The Circuit Court of the State met at South Bend on Monday, and the complaints for violations of the criminal laws of the State, against the plaintiff and his party, were made before the grand jury. No bills were found; and the persons charged were discharged from their recognizances.

On Monday, another writ of habeas corpus was allowed by the Judge, directed to the Sheriff, commanding him to bring forthwith the negroes in his custody before him, etc. A notice was given to the plaintiff of the issuing of this writ, and of the place where the hearing would be had; but the plaintiff, under the circumstances, declined any further attempt to take the fugitives, and assigned as a reason that his right had been violated, and that he should claim compensation from those who had injured him. The slaves were discharged by the Judge, and surrounded by a great number of colored persons, they proceeded from the Court House to a wagon, in which they were conveyed off.

Under the act of 1793, the master, or his agent, had a right to seize his absconding slave wherever he might be found—not to be taken out of the State, but to bring him before some judicial officer of the State, or of the United States, to make proof of his right to the services of the fugitive. But, by the decision in the case of Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania, 16 Peters, ——, the master has a right to seize his slave in any State where he may be found, if he can do so without a breach of the peace, and, without any exhibition of claim, or authority, take him back to the State whence he absconded. Believing that this remedy was not necessary to the rights of the master, and, if practically enforced, would produce great excitement in the free States, I dissented from the opinion of the Court, and stated my objections with whatever force I was able. But I am as fully bound by that decision as if I had assented to it.

Had the State Judge power to issue a writ of habeas corpus in this case? This writ is favored by our laws. It is secured to any person in the fundamental laws of the States and of the Union, as necessary to protect him against acts of oppression. To the people of England it is equally endeared. The people of Indiana, and the people of the other States, have declared that this writ shall not be suspended, except in time of war, or rebellion, and under the greatest emergencies.

Every person within the sovereignty of Indiana, without regard to color or condition in life, is bound by its laws and subject to its jurisdiction; and it is immaterial whether his residence be temporary or permanent, he owes for the time being an allegiance to the State. And the principal applies to a mere traveler through the State. He is amenable to the civil and criminal laws of the State; and the State, so long as he shall remain within it, is bound to protect him in his liberty and in the exercise of his legal rights. In a proper case made, the judicial officers of the State cannot withhold from him the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus.

In the present case, affidavits were made that the fugitives in question were free, and that they had been kidnapped by the plaintiff in the State of Michigan, with the view of making them slaves. An affidavit was made to this effect by a white person, a citizen of Michigan, and by one of the colored persons in the custody of the plaintiff.

It is objected that a colored person, not being a competent witness in Indiana, could not make such an affidavit. I think differently. For this purpose, at least, he may be sworn. It has been so held in Virginia, and in some of the other slave States. The affidavits being presented to the State Judge, which shows an unlawful detention and imprisonment, he is bound under the law of the State to issue the writ, if demanded. He knows nothing of the case, and can be presumed to know nothing of it, except what appears upon the face of the affidavits.

There can be no higher offence against the laws of humanity and justice, or against the dignity of a State and its laws, than to arrest a free man within its protection, with the view of making him a slave. And this may often be done with impunity, if the remedy by the writ of habeas corpus may not be resorted to. There is no other remedy known to the law, which is so speedy and effectual.

I have no hesitancy in saying that the judicial officers of State, under its laws, in a case where an unlawful imprisonment or detention is shown by one or more affidavits, may issue a writ of habeas corpus, and inquire into the cause of detention. But this is a special and limited jurisdiction. If the plaintiff, in the reception of his fugitive slaves, had proceeded under the act of Congress, and made proof of his claim before some judicial officer in Michigan, and procured the certificate which authorized him to take the fugitives to Kentucky, these facts being stated, as the cause of detention, would have terminated this jurisdiction of the Judge under the writ. Thus it would appear that the negroes were held under the federal authority, which, in this respect, is paramount to that of the State, the cause of detention being legal, and admitted or proved, no Judge could arrest and reverse the remedial proceedings of the master.

And the return made by the plaintiff being clearly within the provisions of the constitution as decided in the case of Prigg vs. the State of Pennsylvania, and the facts of that return being admitted by the counsel for the negroes, the Judge could exercise no further jurisdiction in the case. His power was at an end. The fugitives were in the legal custody of their master—a custody authorized by the Constitution and sanctioned by the Supreme Court of the Union. If the facts, on the return of the habeas corpus, had been denied, it would have been incumbent on the master to prove them, and that would have terminated the power of the Judge. Had the Legislature of Indiana provided, by express enactment, that in such a case the Judge should discharge the fugitives, the act would have been void. No procedure under it could have been justified or excused. And in the case under consideration, the custody of the master being admitted to be under an authority paramount to that of the State, the discharge of the fugitives by the Judge was void, and, consequently, can give no protection to those who acted under it.

No Judge of the United States can release any one from a custody under the authority of the State. Some years since, an individual was indicted in the Circuit Court of the United States for the first circuit, if I mistake not, for a capital offence. The defendant was ascertained to be imprisoned for debt under State process; and the lamented Mr. Justice Story very properly held that he had no power to release him from that custody by a habeas corpus. The authority of the plaintiff to arrest and hold in custody his slaves, under the decision in the case of Prigg, was as unquestionable as could be that of an officer acting under Judicial process. If the master in his return to the habeas corpus, or in his proof, the return being denied, should fail to show his right to the service of the fugitives, the State Judge would have the power to discharge them from his custody. Such a discharge would not be conclusive on the rights of the master. He might again arrest the fugitives; and by additional evidence establish his right to their services. This would be consistent with the dignity of a State, and enable it to give protection, while, at the same time, it would not impair the rights of the master. It imposes on him no hardship. When he undertakes to recapture his slave under the highest law known to the country, he must be prepared to show, if legally required to do so, that he is exercising a rightful remedy. This remedy being by the mere act of the party, and without any exhibition of claim or Judicial sanction, must be subject to the police power of the State, at least so far as to protect the innocent from outrage.

The legal custody of the fugitives by the master being admitted, as stated in the return on the habeas corpus, every step taken subsequently was against law, and in violation of his rights. I deem it unnecessary to inquire into the procedure subsequently. It was wholy without authority. The forms of law assumed afford no protection to any one. The slaves were taken from the legal custody of their master, and he, thereby, lost their services.

It is argued, that the plaintiff abandoned his right to the fugitives by failing to appear to the writ on Monday. Of what value could such an appearance have been to him? His right was admitted in the fullest and broadest terms, as set forth in the return to the second writ. And this being held insufficient by the Judge, of what avail could his proof have been? A mistake of the law cannot, in such a case, prejudice the rights of the plaintiff.

Crocker acted as counsel. So far as his acts were limited to the duties of counsel, he is not responsible. But if he exceeded the proper limits of a councellor at law, he is responsible the same as any other individual. Every person of the large crowd in the Court House, or out of it, who aided by words or actions, the movement which resulted in the escape of the fugitives, is responsible. On such occasions, liability is not incurred where no other solicitude is shown, by words or actions, than to obtain an impartial trial for the fugitives.

But it is earnestly contended that the slaves were entitled to their liberty from the privilege given to them by the plaintiff to visit Lawrenceburgh, in Indiana, on their own business, to sell articles of produce, and at other times were sent there on the business of the plaintiff.

It appears that the plaintiff was an indulgent master—that he gave to David, the husband of Lucy, and father of the boys, a piece of ground to cultivate in vegetables for their own use and profit. David was seen by several witnesses at Lawrenceburg at different times, selling vegetables; but there is no express evidence that the plaintiff sent him, or consented that he should cross the river. At one time he was seen at Lawrenceburg, and the plaintiff was seen in the village at the same time, so that an inference may be drawn that David was there with the consent of his master. At another time David was seen at Lawrenceburg, and the oldest boy Lewis—a yellow woman was also seen with them, who, the witness supposes, though he is not certain, may have been Lucy, the wife of David.

Several witnesses state the confessions of the plaintiff, at South Bend, that he had been very indulgent to the fugitives, in permitting them to sell their vegetables on the Indiana side of the river. Some of these confessions are disproved by persons who were present, and who give an entirely different construction to the words of the plaintiff. Instead of saying that he had permitted them to attend the market at Lawrenceburg, he had permitted them to attend the market at a village on the Kentucky side of the river, and that he did not know that David had crossed the river to find a better market.

The conflicting statements of witnesses will be carefully examined and weighed by the jury. Before the interests of the master can be effected by the slave's being seen in a free State, it must be clearly shown that he was in such State with the consent of his master. But neither the acts nor the value of the services of David are involved in this case. He has not been arrested by the plaintiff.

It is contended that, if the slaves had been permitted to go to the State of Indiana by the plaintiff, and afterwards returned voluntarily to their masters, they could not got up the fact as a ground of their release. The Courts of the slave States are divided on this question. It is now pending in a case before the Supreme Court, brought from Kentucky. Under such circumstances, if the jury shall find from the evidence that the fugitives named in the declaration, or any part of, had, with the consent of the plaintiff, been in Indiana, and had returned to the services of their master, they will so find the fact, and the question will be duly considered on a motion after verdict. There is no pretence to say, when the slaves left the service of the plaintiff, they left with his consent. The facts show clearly that they absconded.

The Court has to instruct you that as the fugitives are still liable to be recaptured by the plaintiff, he cannot recover their value in damages. Whether the plaintiff shall be able to recapture the slaves, if his right to do so be admitted, is subject to many contingencies which cannot well be estimated by a jury. There is certainly no obligation on the plaintiff to use future exertions to reclaim the fugitives: and it would seem to be unjust that those through whose instrumentality their services have become lost to plaintiff, if the jury shall so find, should avail themselves of such a defence. In such a case, the act of Congress of 1793 gives an action to the plaintiff for the damages received. The damages, in the present case, are estimated by two witnesses, one of whom states them at $2,450, and the other at $2,700, making a difference between the two estimates of $250. The plaintiff's counsel claims interest on the damages estimated from the time the negroes absconded. The Court will give no instructions on the question of interest, but will say to the jury, if they shall find for the plaintiff, they will assess such damages as, on a full consideration of evidence, they shall believe he has sustained.

I was gratified at the avowal of one of the counsel in defence, that he disclaimed all influence with the jury, except that which arose from the facts and law of the case. And he particularly repudiated that argument which invoked the conscience of the jury against the established law. This was a manly avowal, and fit to be made in this place and on this occasion.

No earthly power has a right to interpose between a man's conscience and his Maker. He has a right, an inalienable and absolute right, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. For this he alone must answer, and he is entirely free from all human restraint to think and act for himself. But this is not the case when his acts affect the rights of others. Society has a claim upon all citizens. General rules have been adopted, in the form of laws, for the protection of the rights of persons and things. These laws lie at the foundation of the social compact, and their observance is essential to the maintainance of civilization. In these matters, the law, and not conscience, constitutes the rule of action. You are sworn to decide this case according to the law and testimony. And you become unfaithful to the solemn injunctions you have taken upon yourselves, when you yield to an influence which you call conscience, that places you above the law and the testimony. Such a rule can apply only to individuals; and when assumed as a basis of action on the rights of others, it is utterly destructive of all law. What may be deemed a conscientious act by one individual, may be held criminal by another. In view of one, the act is meritorious; in the view of the other, it should be punished as a crime. And each has the same right, acting under the dictates of his conscience, to carry out his own view. This would overturn the basis of society.

We must stand by the law. We have sworn to maintain it. It is expected that the citizens of the Free States should be opposed to Slavery. But with the abstract principles of Slavery we have nothing to do. As a political question there could be no difference of opinion among us on the subject. But our duty is found in the Constitution of the Union, as construed by the Supreme Court. The fugitives from labor we are bound, by the highest obligations, to deliver up on claim of the master being made; and there is no State power which can release the slave from the legal custody of his master.

The chief glory and excellence of our institutions consist in the supremacy of the laws. We are instructed to reverence and obey them from our earliest years. And it is this, connected with a faithful administration of the laws, which has given security to persons and property, throughout the wide extent of our country. In this consists, in a great degree, the strength of our government. And we should be careful not to weaken its power. There is enough in the general aspect of our affairs, if not to alarm, at least to admonish us that every cord which binds us together should be strengthened.

In regard to the arrest of fugitives from labor, the law does not impose active duties on our citizens generally. They are not prohibited from exercising the ordinary charities of life toward the fugitive. To secrete him, or to convey him from the reach of his master, or to rescue him when in legal custody, is forbidden; and for doing this a liability is incurred. This gives no one a just ground of complaint. He has only to refrain from an express violation of the law, which operates to the injury of his neighbor. Is this a hardship? No law-abiding man can so consider it. He cannot claim a right to do that which the law forbids, without striking at the base of society. If the law be unwise or impolitic, let it be changed in the mode prescribed; but, so long as it remains the law, every good citizen will conform to it. And every one who arrays himself against it and endeavors by open or secret means to bring it into contempt, so that it may be violated with impunity, is an enemy to the best interests of his country.

Gentlemen, the case is with you. In your deliberations you will carefully weigh the evidence, and, in coming to a determination, you will be guided only by the law and testimony.

The jury returned a verdict, for the plaintiff, for $2,850 in damages.

IMPRISONMENT OF COLORED SEAMEN.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop deserves especial honor for the firmness and manliness with which he has spoken in the Senate on the rights of our colored seamen. He brought a hornet's nest about him in the attacks of the "chivalry," who evinced their sensitiveness by abuse when this subject was mentioned. Mr. Winthrop can be abundantly sustained on the points he introduced, and we mention one case as a specimen, to which we should like to call the especial attention of the Hon. Senator Berrien, who was quite indignant to hear Savannah charged with the outrages alluded to. We content ourselves with a simple statement of facts.

On the 10th of last January, the barque Europa, Capt. Nathaniel Brown, sailed from Boston. On the fourth day out she was dismasted, and on the 6th of Feb. put into Savannah, in distress. On the 10th, Capt. B. writes to his owners in this city as follows: "The authorities of the place have taken from me the steward and cook, and placed them in jail for safe keeping, and I have been obliged to hire two others at 75c. each per day." The entire expense to the owners, for jail fees, hire of substitutes, &c. was between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and sixty dollars. We have before us the originals of the jail bills, and subjoin copies, as curiosities, viz:

Capt. Nathaniel Brown, and owners of ship Europa, } '1850.

To Thomas B. Maxwell, Dr.

Feb. 7th. To carrying to the Jail of Chatham County, George Johnson, (Steward) and Edward Johnson, (Cook.)

Rec'd Payment,
THOMAS B. MAXWELL.
Savannah, 14th March, 1850.

Messrs. Cohan & Fosdick for Barque Europa

To Savannah Jail, Dr.

For maintenance of George and Edward Johnson, Stewards.

" Key for 2	$2 50
" Rations 36 days, at 47 cts. per day, for 2	33 84
" Whipping	
" Apprehending Fee	
" Mileage	
" Advertising in "Georgian" "Friend of the Family"	
" Guard House Fee	
" Officers' Fee	
" Blanket	
" Physician's Fee, G. Johnson, $8 00 } E. Johnson, 7 00 }	15 00
	$51 84
Cash advanced by Dep. jailor	3 05
	54 89

Received-Payment,
ISAAC D. LYON, jailor, S. C.
Savannah, March 14, 1850.

Barque Europa and Owners

To Thomas B. Maxwell, Dr.

For bringing from jail, George Johnson, (Steward) and Edward Johnson, (Cook,) $3 00
Drayage of their clothes 50

Received Payment,
THOS. B. MAXWELL.

The above bills speak for themselves of the treatment of our colored sailors in the city of Savannah, as late as last March. No wonder Southern gentlemen are sensitive at the exposure of such facts.—*Salem Register.*

Selections.

THE SLAVEHOLDERS' LAST MOVE.

The Senate of the United States has just adopted a measure which gives a new and deeper interest to the great controversy respecting American Slavery. If the measure in question shall receive the sanction of the other branch of the Legislature a state of things will speedily arise in which great numbers of upright and faithful citizens will find themselves called upon to choose whether they obey the law of man or the law of God. It has been long contended by some of the opponents of Slavery, that the free States are sharers in the guilt of those with whom they are federally united, in as much as the Constitution binds them to aid in restoring fugitive slaves to their masters. The most common answer to this, we believe, has been, that the constitutional provisions respecting the surrender of fugitive slaves were in a great measure neutralized, and made a dead-letter, by the habits and feelings of northern citizens; and that it would be unwise and unpatriotic to jeopardise the continuance of the Union, and to disturb the very foundations of the Government, in order to get rid of an enactment which was so much worse in appearance than in reality. This species of compromise, however, is about to be blown to the winds, by the adoption of a new and stringent law, which will require from the authorities of the Northern States as much activity and vigilance in barring up all the accustomed avenues of escape from bondage, as if they were the paid police of their southern neighbors. Nor is this all. The new law will not only demand that the energy of the North be employed in seizing and sending back fugitives to the prison and the lash, but will place the life and liberty of every free person of color at the mercy of any scoundrel who, upon oath, may claim him as his property. The affidavit being duly made, the authorities are to give effect to the law, without listening to a syllable which the fugitive, or supposed fugitive can say in his own defence. The evidence of the unhappy person placed in this predicament, is prohibited, as something totally unfit for the ear of justice. Should the claimant further make oath, that in carrying off his victim he has reason to dread a rescue, the authorities are to take upon themselves the task of conveying the supposed slale to his place of punishment; and if a rescue does take place, the people of the State in which it happens are to compensate the slave-owner.

When we are told an Act like this has passed the Senate of the United States in this present year 1850, we scarcely know how to express our amazement. There is in it a shameless defiance of the opinion of the civilized world, which an assembly including the most eminent statesmen of America might have been expected to avoid as impolitic even if they did not think it immoral. It is, however, only a new proof that the statesmanship of America is of a very unscrupulous character. Its system of courting and managing the popular passions, is an elaborate political Jesuitism, according to which a great end, felt to be desirable, is held to justify any means by which it can be attained. There was much in the recent proceedings relative to the new settlements, calculated to alienate the Slave-holding interests. Now they are to be propitiated. For reasons in which it is to be feared a genuine concern for hu-

man rights had little share, the *extension* of Slavery was powerfully resisted; but now the friendship of the offended slaveholders is to be purchased back by a legislative guarantee that the Slavery which already exists shall be made as permanent as the Constitution.

It is also possible,—for of men who do such things no suspicion can be too unworthy,—that this new movement is only a sham concession. The law may be brought forward in the belief that the Northern States will not execute it, and that those of the South may be appeased by finding the Legislature ready to do for them all that is in its power. But the intention of the authors of such a law is a matter of very little consequence. In any case the attempt to bring it into play, will be made both by real and pretended owners of runaway slaves; and the applications of such parties will infallibly give rise to a series of contests between Law and Conscience, by which for a time society may be exposed to serious disorders. The ultimate result, however, can be nothing else than a great triumph of freedom. We are, indeed, greatly mistaken, if this new and odious concession to the Slave-power does not give a vast and decisive impulse to the Abolitionist agitation.

The Legislature of the United States, in adopting so monstrous a measure, will place law in direct antagonism with some of the noblest and strongest feelings of human nature. The very existence of a great social wrong like Slavery does, indeed, involve such antagonism: but in the strife the human heart is perpetually gaining upon and subduing the evil with which it is at war. The props and defences of Slavery are continually giving way before the moral pressure which bears against them and every attempt to put new legal supports under the tottering fabric only extends the surface against which the tide of opinion beats with an ever-growing force. This new slavery law must stimulate into active hostility many opponents of Slavery who, at present, content themselves with a great protest against it. The bulk of mankind care little for the refinements of reasoning. Many of the best citizens of the Northern States are in no way troubled by clauses in the constitution which, however bad in themselves, are nullified by custom. But let one of these men, who has never taken part in an Anti-Slavery demonstration, be called upon to aid personally in forcing back some trembling refugee to the chains and stripes from which he has escaped, and what will be the consequence? Hundreds and hundreds, we can have no doubt whatever, will be ready to declare that no power on earth shall force them to become sharers in such iniquity. The case is one in which Law will compel men to ask by what right or authority it commands obedience; and when it can plead nothing but the will of Congress against the clear and imperative voice of conscience, the most determined adherents of order and peace may be driven into resistance. It is true that the majority may still be disposed to take the easiest path, and may assume that what is legal must necessarily be right: but the men whose moral force of character give them influence over others, will be those to whom such acquiesence must necessarily appear degradation. *They* will resist the new Slavery ordinance as a violation of the highest law by which human beings are bound; and whatever discussion or agitation follows from such resistance, must spread the opposition by awakening in other minds those universal sentiments of justice which no force of custom can extinguish in the human breast.—*The (London, Eng.) Inquirer.*

MODERN AMERICAN AND MEDIÆVAL EUROPEAN SLAVE LAWS.

While every vessel that crosses the Atlantic brings us fresh news of the growing splendour and dominion of the Great Republic of the Western World, we also receive startling and painful announcements respecting the virulence and the evil working, of that plague-spot on its institutions, Slavery. We read of California adding one star more to the Columbian constellation, and of the unbounded prospects of treasure and power that are opening to American energy on its own coasts and in the islands of the Pacific, and also in the ancient empires whose wealth and weakness lie on the Asiatic side of that ocean. But at the same time we read of incessant scenes of outrage and cruelty by man against his fellow-man, whom he claims to treat, according to the definition which the ancient heathen gave of a slave, "*as a kind of chattel with a soul in it.*" We read of a new Fugitive Slave Bill passing the American Legislature, by which the arbitrary powers of every white man over every coloured man in the States are to be fearfully augmented. The spectacle which conquering and slaveholding America offers, is too similar to the pageantry of a Roman triumph, in which the slave was placed close to the victorious chieftain, to remind him and the spectators of ever-impending calamity and shame.

It is said that we ought not to censure America for Slaveholding, because America was English when Slavery was first introduced among her institutions. This is true to a certain extent; but no such plea can avail America when she aggravates Slavery, and makes its continuance more certain by such laws as that which her supreme Legislature has just enacted. Any white man may now, in any of the States, whether an avowedly Slaveholding state, or one that calls itself free, claim any man woman, or child, in whose veins a drop of negro blood runs, as his fugitive slave. If he makes affidavit that he fears a rescue, the sheriff must aid him to seize his prey. The alleged slave may in vain assert that he is free. He is to be taken to the State whence the alleged master says that he escaped, and it is there, among Slaveholders, that the question of his liberty or bondage is to be decided. Even before this Bill was passed, the presumption of every coloured person being a runaway slave was always acted on throughout the southern half of the States. In those "free and enlightened districts," as they term themselves, whenever a coloured person is found without a master, he (or she, as the case may be,) is immediately imprisoned by the local authorities; a master is advertised for; and, if none come forward and prove his claim the wretched-captive is—not set free—*but sold to the best bidder, and the proceeds of the sale go to the public funds of the district.* Our readers may, perhaps, suspect us of exaggeration: if so, let them obtain any American paper of the Southern States, and read the advertisements. We have before us, at this moment, a copy of the *Weekly Missouri Republican* of the 23rd of July in this year. There are numerous advertisements of masters offering rewards for the apprehension of their runaway slaves: and there are also several of the class to which we have just been referring. We will copy one *verbatim*. We cannot also copy from the Missouri Journal the wood-cut figure of a negro running with a knapsack on his shoulder, which appears as frequently in the American advertisement sheet, as the figure of a ship in full sail appears at the head of a shipping advertisements in many English papers. The advertisement itself is as follows:

"Notice of Runaway.—Was committed to jail in the county of Cape Girardeau, in the State of Missouri, on the 20th day of April, 1850, as a runaway slave, a negro man who called himself Ralph Brooks, age about twenty-one years; yellow complexion: had on when committed, a green baize roundabout, fur cap, white shirt, checked cassimere pants; says he is from Weston, Mo., that he is free, that for a considerable time he was on the steamer 'St. Paul,' running on the Missouri river and that his home is in Pittsburgh, Penn.

"The owner of said slave is hereby notified to make application and pay all charges for said slave within three months from this date; otherwise he will be sold on Saturday, the 24th day of August next, 1850, at the Court-house door, in the town of Jackson, county of Cape Girardeau, to the highest bidder for cash, in accordance with the Statutes in such cases made and provided. "JOHN P. EDINGER, Sheriff.

"Cape Girardeau, County Mo"

Comment on this to an English reader would be an insult: and it is a system of arbitrary oppression almost as bad as this, to every coloured human being that the new law is to make universal throughout the States.

These new processes of American law bring to our mind the old processes of our own law for seizing a fugitive bondman, which were in use when Slavery, in the form of villeinage, prevailed in England as in other feudal countries. They make us think of the writs of "*Homine replegiando*," of "*Nativo habendo*," of "*Neifty*," and of "*Libertate probanda*" that are to be found in our old law-books, and which once were stern realities in practice. But civilised America degrades herself even below the level of mediæval and semi-barbarous Europe. Our old tribunals, though they recognised and enforced the cruel rights of the lord, never sought to extend them. On the contrary, our laws strove successfully to mitigate and gradually abolish the odious institution which ancient conquest had created. To adopt the language of Hargreave, in his great argument in the case of the Negro Somerset, "The common law of England always presumed in favour of liberty, throwing the *onus probandi* upon the lord as well in the writ of *homine replegiando*, where the villein was plaintiff, as in the *nativo habendo*, where he was defendant.

By merciful laws still more mercifully administered, England purged herself gradually from Slavery, without revolution, and without disregard of the rights of property, even of those most questionable rights which one man asserts over the freedom of another. Let our kinsmen on the other side of the Atlantic look to the conduct of our common ancestors in dealing with a difficulty similar to that which now presses on America. They must blush at the contrast they might profit by the example.—*The (London, Eng.) Weekly News.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

NEW YORK: THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1850.

THE HUNT.

The main hunting-ground has been changed, the past week, to Boston, where, as was to be expected, the game has turned at bay, and the baffled hunter stands a mark for the finger of contempt and loathing of a whole community. No doubt there are people in Boston who would rather see the heroic Wm. and Ellen Crafts dragged back to Slavery than that the shameless wretch who has traced them to their retreat, with the instinct of a bloodhound and the heart of a wolf, should be compelled to return to his confederates without his prey. We trust for the honor of human nature that such persons are very few. Pearson, we know, found sympathizers and men gave him their hands and bowed themselves before his brazen forehead in State Street; eight hundred men, we know, in Boston have thanked Daniel Webster for recalling them to their "Constitutional duties," and this class, in the secret place where other men's hearts are put, will wish Hewes better fortune; but the class, after all, is made up of those poor imitators of humanity who are too weak to resist the influences of evil times, or who love low and vile acts because that is their own nature; or else of those stronger wills, which the world is never without, and which pass quietly enough through it, if circumstances do not call them forward, but which are the material which nature always seems to hold in readiness for any gigantic villainy that occasion demands. But the mass are not thus weak or wicked, and though, as in Pearson's case of kidnapping, they might permit an outrage which they did not see, and in one of whom they know nothing, and who, to them, was as if he were not, yet we may hope that they will not suffer a similar outrage to be perpetrated on the Crafts, whom they do know, and whose romantic story is familiar to all men, whether it be perpetrated in the name of the law or in spite of it.

There has been more than one attempt to act under the new law in Boston during the past week, the first of which is thus stated in the *Boston Journal*:

A Slave Hunter Foiled.—About two years since, a stout, stalwart negro, who, for several years previous had been claimed by a resident of a certain town in Virginia as his property, escaped from his master, and came to this city. He stated his case to several colored citizens, and had no trouble in finding true friends. A day or two since, the Virginian who claimed the runaway, flesh and blood, as his property, arrived in this city in pursuit of the negro, and the fact soon became known to one or two of those who are "determined to stay away or die," they communicated the circumstance to certain members of the "vigilance committee," appointed at the late meeting in Faneuil Hall. Measures were promptly taken, first to see that the *property* was safe, and secondly, to ascertain the truth of the rumor that the "hunter" was in the city. The fact of his presence among us, and his mission being ascertained beyond a doubt, the negro was quietly conveyed out of the city, and more than twenty-four hours have now elapsed since he was beyond the reach of his former master. Thus has quietly ended the first "fugitive slave case" in Boston.

It was next ascertained that other hunters were in the city, and their persons as well as purpose were soon known. Watchful eyes were on them, and followed them from place to place, till at length it was ascertained that warrants were issued from the United States District Court, and a communication was known to be established between the Marshal, Devens, and the United States Judge, Woodbury. The Crafts were found to be objects of the hunters. The *Traveller* thus sums up the proceedings up to Saturday:

The Fugitive Slave Cases.—No arrests have yet been made, under the warrants said to have been issued from the United States District Court, for the arrest of two fugitive slaves. The alleged fugitives are said to be William and Ellen Crafts, who some two years since escaped from Macon, Ga., the wife, who is rather light-colored, being disguised as a young man coming north for his health, and the husband as an attending servant.

The reason given that Crafts is the man wanted is, that a person named Hewes, said to be a jailer near the place where Crafts formerly lived, has been for some time in this city, and has endeavored to obtain interviews with both Crafts and his wife. He is supposed to have a power of attorney from the former master of Mr. Crafts and his wife.

During yesterday forenoon, Mr. Crafts remained at his shop in Cambridge street, where he works at cabinet making. He refused, in accordance with the desire of several of his friends, to leave the city, but in the afternoon, retired to the house of Mr. Lewis Hayden, Southac street, which is his boarding house. He is said to be fully armed. This morning he has again been in his shop in Cambridge street, but has not been in the least molested. The excitement among the colored people at the West End was considerable during yesterday afternoon and last evening, but no violence of any kind was attempted.

There was a large meeting of colored people in Belknap street church in the evening, at which Crafts was present.

Addresses were made by C. L. Remond, of Salem; Davis, of Plymouth; and Roberts, Nell, and Allen, of this city. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, "That God willed us free: Man willed us slaves. We will as God wills: God's will be done."

Resolved, That our oft repeated determination to resist oppression is the same now as ever—and we pledge ourselves at all hazards, to resist unto death any attempt upon our liberties.

Resolved, That as South Carolina seizes and imprisons colored seamen from the North, under the plea that it is to prevent insurrection and rebellion among her population—the authorities of this State, and City in particular, be requested to lay hold of, and put in prison, immediately any, and all Fugitive slave hunters who may be found among us, upon the same ground, and for similar reasons.

The following letter was received by Wm. Crafts, on the night of its date:

Boston, Oct. 22, 1850, 11 o'clock, P.M.

Wm. Crafts—Sir—I have to leave so Eirley in the morning that I cold not call according to promis, so if you want me to carry a letter home with me, you must bring it to the United States Hotel to-morrow, and leave it in the Box 44 or come your self to morro Eavening after tea and bring it. let me no if you come your self by sending a note to Box 44 U. S. Hotel so that I may no wether to wate after the tae or not by the Bearer. If your wif wants to see me you cold bring her with you if you come your self.

John Knight.

P S I shall leave for home eirly a Thursday morning.

It will be seen that Knight states that he was to leave the city the next day, and yet he still remains here. The letter is supposed to have been written for the purpose of drawing Crafts to the U. S. Hotel, and there capturing him.

This morning a writ against the alleged slave hunters was issued, for slander, in calling a citizen of Massachusetts a slave, thereby injuring his business, character, &c., to the amount of $10,000. The writ was offered to several deputy sheriffs, who declined serving it.

The Committee of Vigilance held a meeting this morning, to concert a plan of operations in case an arrest should be made. Mrs. Craft was taken out of town yesterday. Wm. Jones, another fugitive who feared an arrest, is on his way to Canada.

The *Transcript* of the same date says:

The house of the Fugitive Slave in his Castle.—It is understood that, on inquiry of the Marshal, Judge Sprague has intimated that the process for the arrest of a fugitive slave is in the nature of civil process—that, in serving it, an officer will not be justified in breaking open the outer door of any dwelling house—that every dwelling house is the castle of its occupants. This application of a familiar principle of the common law promises to give security to a certain extent to the unfortunate class of fugitives, claimed as slaves. It must be borne in mind, however, that this protection is confined to the *dwelling-house*, or house where a person sleeps, and not to his place of business. It is also confined to the *outer door*. If this is left open, or if the Marshal is admitted within it, he may break open any *inner door*.

One of the most striking outbursts of Lord Chatham was where he pictured the security afforded by the English law to every person in his own house. "The winds of Heaven may enter it," said the impassioned orator, "every storm, every rain may penetrate it; but the King dare not, the King *cannot*."—

It is stated, we know not how correctly, that several constables and police officers who were applied to by Marshal Devens to assist in making arrests of fugitives, flatly refused to give any aid whatever.

In the meantime the hunters got upon another track, but were again unsuccessful. The *Times* thus relates the incident:

Three days since, a man from Virginia entered the dance celler, formerly kept by Jake Lattimer, corner of Ann and Richmond streets. Lattimer is a fugitive, and has been in this city three or four years.—The man who entered was Lattimer's own master. The recognition was instant and mutual. Lattimer fled, and has not since been heard of.

To-day, although there cannot be said to be much *excitement*, yet there are a vast many people who are essentially "wide awake," on the look-out for any movement which may be made in any direction, and fully determined that no demonstration shall be made "against freedom" without their cognizance. An unusual number are constantly within sight of the Court House, and in Cambridge and Southac streets; the members of the "Vigilance Committee" are at their various posts, and quietly making their observations; but no "thrilling incidents" have as yet transpired in any quarter, so far as we have been able to learn.

The position of things on Sunday we learn from a Telegraphic Dispatch which is as follows:

At about half-past four o'clock yesterday morning, W. J. Knight, who is alleged to be a slave-catcher from Georgia, was arrested by Deputy Sheriff Rugg, on a writ for slander. The writ alleges that Knight charged William Crafts, a citizen of Massachusetts, with being a slave, to the damage of his business and detriment of his character, in the sum of $10,000.—Knight was taken to Mr. Rugg's office, where a great crowd soon assembled, composed of whites and blacks. Abuse was heaped upon the prisoner, but no violence offered. Knight, after remaining in custody about half an hour, obtained bail in $10,000, and was set at liberty. This is said to be one movement of a series by the opponents of the Fugitive Slave Law to render its execution as obnoxious as possible. The Committee of Vigilance have had several sessions, and have, it is said, resolved to invite the suspected fugitive slave seekers to leave the city forthwith. So far, no attempt has been made to arrest a fugitive. The warrants lie dead in the Marshal's office. The excitement is great. Many say the law should be enforced, while others say that it shall not. A number of fugitives, fearing they cannot be protected, have fled to Canada.

So rests the matter at the latest dates. Our Boston Correspondent may give us further information, and we refer to his letter.

The law and its framers have another life to answer for this week, lost through that spirit of reckless and devilish love of cruelty which it is one of the worst features of the law that it has called it into action all over the North. We know that in this city colored people have been goaded almost to madness by persons who for their amusement have played upon their fears by exciting their apprehension of the slave hunter. The *Syracuse State Journal* tells the following story. It needs, indeed it can receive no embellishment:

Outrageous conduct of a boat's crew, resulting in one death, and the attempted suicide of two fugitive slaves.

We are called upon to record this morning one of the grossest and most inhuman outrages that has ever come to our notice. It is the diabolical conduct of the crew of one of the boats upon the Erie Canal, toward a colored family who were passengers with them, resulting in the attempted suicide of the Father and Mother, and the drowning of their child! It appears that the man, named Wm. Harris, and his wife and child, succeeded a few weeks since in escaping from their master, in South Carolina.

At Philadelphia they came under the notice of the friends of the Fugitive, who aided them northward.—At Albany some friends paid their passage to Rochester, where they were to cross the Lake to Canada. On Monday last the crew of the boat on which they were, learned that they were fugitives, and immediately devised a plan to trouble and terrify them, probably thereby producing great amusement. On Monday night some of the human fiends, in prosecution of their plans, went to the berth of the man Harris, and awaking him informed him that his master was on board the boat, and that they would surrender him and his family into his hands. Harris drew a dirk with which he was armed for self-defence, drove the scoundrels on deck, and by his decisive manner and actions kept them at bay till morning. In the morning he was informed that his master had left the boat and gone on to Syracuse, but would there meet him on the arrival of the boat.

On Tuesday evening, about 5 o'clock, the boat came to a stopping place at the first Lodi Lock, about a mile east of this city. As is often the case, a number of persons went aboard the boat. Harris supposed they came to take him, being so informed by some of the crew. In his desperation he seized his razor, and drawing it forcibly across his throat, jumped into the canal. His wife, with their child in her arms, leaped after him; all determined to die rather than again come under the Slaveholder's power. Efforts were then made to rescue the drowning family. Harris and his wife were got out, but the child was drowned.

Harris was immediately conveyed to the office of Dr. Hoyt, who dressed his wounds, and gave him other needful attention. It was found that the cut was not so bad as it might have been, although severing the wind-pipe, but being too high up did not prove fatal.

We cannot pass suitable expression of indignation or surprise at these outrages. We have in this outrageous affair one of the effects of the "bill of abominations," which at the least serves to render wretched the colored portion of our population. We are, however, happy to state that Harris and his wife are now in good hands, and they will be suitably cared for, and as soon as possible but beyond the danger of the slave-catcher's grasp.

UNION MEETING THE THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK.

The Undersigned unite in this call for a Public Meeting of their Fellow Citizens, without distinction of party, who approve of the *Peace Measures* of the last session of Congress, who are disposed to sustain the Constitution and laws of their country, and to maintain the Union, and for such action as is best calculated to arrest the further progress of political agitation in this section of the country.

We copy the above announcement from the *Journal of Commerce*, without that hope of reward which that paper expects, and will doubtless receive, for making it. The meeting will have taken place too late for us to give a report of its proceedings in this week's paper, but we shall, in our next issue, publish the result of this movement of the *Journal* and its retainers of the Commercial class, as well as some of the comments of the press upon it. If not one of the most important, it is certainly one of the most curious and most instructive incidents to which the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause has yet given birth. We doubt if it could have taken place any where but here where the mercenary spirit of trade has corrupted the humanity of the people, and where the only principle that meets with any respect is the principle on which interest can be calculated.

The call for this meeting is signed by several thousand names, and the fear that their craft is in danger has been motive enough with all the signers to give the movement the aid of their personal influence. With many it has been a direct bid for Southern trade; with others it has been the fear that unless they signed the Call, the absence of their names would lose them Southern customers, for the names of those refusing to sign have been made known through the *Journal* and other papers; with all it has been a sincere desire to put an end to an agitation which threatens, as they think, to change the course of trade. What will be the character of the meeting itself, we will not predict, but as a method of agitation which can not fail to do service, we, as good Abolitionists, rejoice in it. It is so plain and palpable a proof of the hold which the subject has got of the public mind, of the influence which Slavery exercises over the morals and interests of the North, and of the spirit which governs the class represented by the *Journal of Commerce*, that we must needs regard its exhibition as a most significant and important one, and one which can not fail to arouse the public attention elsewhere to the position in which we, as a people stand. It will teach us whether the spirit of liberty, the manliness and the self-respect of the North has no higher standard than the price of cotton in Wall street, and whether the great questions on which rest the welfare of the nation and the people, the present and the future, are to be settled by a mercenary appeal to the pockets of shopkeepers.

The character of this movement we shall show more at length next week. The following capital letter, however, from a respectable firm which refused to sign the call, and was published for its recreancy by the *Journal*, which at the same time mentioned, as a sufficient explanation of the fact, that Messrs. Bowen & McNamee are proprietors of the *Independent* newspaper, is a sufficient commentary upon the movement, and shows what means have been resorted to to give it currency and importance:

A Card.

The public, including the *New York Journal of Commerce*, are informed that we are Silk Merchants, and keep an extensive and well assorted stock of goods, which we offer to responsible buyers on reasonable terms. As individuals, we entertain our own views on the various Religious, Moral and Political questions of the day, which we are neither afraid nor ashamed to declare on all proper occasions. But we wish it distinctly understood that our *goods* and not our *principles* are in the market. The attempt to punish us as Merchants for the exercise of our liberty as Citizens we leave to the judgment of the community.

BOWEN & McNAMEE.

New York, October 26, 1850.

We cheerfully comply with a request of one of the Committee of Colored People in this city to publish the following eloquent Address made by them to their fellow-citizens:

To the People of the State of New York:

Fellow Citizens—On the eighteenth day of September, 1850, by the usual course of national legislation, the fugitive slave bill became the law of the land.

By this enactment, the personal liberty of every American citizen is seriously perilled, if not entirely taken away; for,

1st. By the second section of said act, power is granted to a certain person, styled a Commissioner, at any time or place to hold a court (consisting of himself only) with plenary authority, summarily and forever to deprive of personal liberty any person or persons brought before said Commissioner.

2nd. And said Commissioner (upon oath made before him by any one person) is empowered (Sec. 6), on the *exparte* evidence of the person so affirming, to deliver up the person or persons, claimed under said oath, to perpetual Slavery; and said Commissioner (Sec. 6) exercises this authority, without appeal from his decision by any other court or process whatever; and can use all force necessary to execute said authority; by which provisions, the rules of evidence in common law are entirely set aside, the right of trial by jury is abolished, and privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* is practically annulled.

3d. Any citizen who, in obedience to the written law of God, and the teachings of his own conscience, may aid or harbor a fugitive from unpaid labor, is by this act (Sec. 7) punished by a fine of one thousand dollars, and imprisonment during six months.

It was popularly thought, fellow citizens, that this law could affect only persons of color; but a little reflection convinces you that it pertains to the liberty of all citizens, of whatever complexion. There are white complexioned slaves at the South; hence any white person may be arrested under this act, which does not specify color, and a white person, so arrested, may be hurried off as rapidly as Hamlet, and be consigned to perpetual Slavery, because the bill contains no safeguard to establish personal identity, no penalty for the arrest and extradition of the wrong person, and deprives the party arrested of all right to a moment's time to give his own, or to summon other evidence in his behalf. Mrs. Evars, recently pursued in Honesdale, Penn., is as white as any lady in the land, her claimant being a colored man now residing in New Orleans.

By this slave bill, therefor, trial by jury, the writ of *habeas corpus*, the laws of evidence in common law, the comman appointments, and the common condition of a court of justice—all the safeguards of personal liberty, all the foundation elements of modern civilization are at once swept away! And why?

We have been told, that this bill was necessary "to secure the compromises of the constitution, to remedy certain evils inflicted on the South, and to hush the agitation of the question of Slavery."

The spirit of compromise is open, frank, conciliating, bearing on its brow no brand of shame, in its soul no taint of ignominy; and depending for the fulfilment of its stipulations on the pledged assent of all concerned. In such a spirit was framed the American constitution, under whose ægis we have happily lived near three-fourths of a century, gradually doing away with the large prevalence of chattel Slavery which at first shadowed our land: but, this slave bill was conceived in no such spirit, rests on no such assent; it is conceived in insult, and rests for its fulfilment on an appeal to the meanest passion that lives in the human heart. For it is an insult on any people, to establish in their midst, a court consisting of one man, who shall have instant, *ex-parte*, and final jurisdiction over any one of that people, in the matter of personal liberty. It is an insult to append the threat and the reality of an armed force, to confirm and carry out, with bloodshed, if need be, the decrees of this extra-judicial court! It is an insult upon the American people, to chain them down with a law of compromise, which depends, for its fulfilment, not on the spontaneous love of Union, burning in the breast of every American citizen, but upon the spirit of avarice, and the fear of death. This law is insulting, when it exclaims to the christian citizen, "dehumanize yourself; see your fellow-man or sister-woman borne away into helpless, hopeless servitude; good citizen, join in, and help carry them off! no matter, if he say he is 'free,' no matter if she screams for the last sight of her own children; good citizen, club him, choke her shrieks, and hurry them away to fulfil the compromises of the constitution, and the law of our free and happy land!"

But this slave bill, so insulting in its nature, so shameless in its exactions, not only fails as a measure of compromise, it also fails as a technical remedy for the great evil of which the south complains. The fugitives from unrequited toil, who lived in the free States on or before its enactment, have now escaped into Canada, or have placed themselves beyond the claimant's power; and now, and ever, men and women will continue to flee from unrequited toil so long as there are footsteps and carriage roads and railways reaching from Mason & Dixon's line to our northern frontier. Let our Congress tear up these roads, blot out the northern star, sear human sympathy from the human heart, and crush out the Divine inspiration to be free which comes with every breath into the human bosom—and it will have only begun to make provision to arrest the escape of persons from unpaid labor!

And this bill not only fails as a measure of compromise, and fails as a remedy for the southern evil—more signally and utterly does it fail as a soother of the Slavery agitation in our otherwise tranquil land. So far from allaying, it has served to excite that agitation beyond all former experience, and has aroused the two sections of the Union to an attitude of sterner and more unfraternal opposition than has happened since the foundation of the Republic.

Upon these circumstances, fellow citizens, we call upon you to urge and compel our representatives in Congress to repeal this Fugitive Slave Bill, odious in its conception, odious in its provisions, impotent in its intended results. So hateful is it known to be, by those entitled to enforce it, that they have as yet made no serious attempt to carry it out. But, even if it continue a dead letter on the statute book, it is so fraught with disgrace, so capable of evil, that all who hold dear our common country, and her good name among the nations of the earth, and her favor in the sight of the Almighty, must join in an agitation that shall only cease with its Repeal.

John J. Zuille, Thomas J. White,
John T. Raymond, Wm. J. Wilson,
Junius C. Morel, Robert Hamilton,
Wm. P. Powell, Jeremiah Powers,
Thomas Downing, Lewis H. Putnam,
Joseph W. Smith, Alfred Lyons,
James McCune Smith.

New York, October, 1850. Committee.

☞ We give on the first page of this week's paper some evidence of the character of the Slave-law of this Republic in its most moderate aspect, and in its relative rather than its direct bearing upon the members of a community where, either temporally or permanently, it may become paramount. The articles we quote, and especially the decision of Mr. Justice McLean, are instructive, and shed much light upon the condition of things now existing in some parts of the country, and possible all over it; but we find in the last No of the *Greensborough* (N. C) *Patriot* a decision of a Court of Justice which is equally, if not more, remarkable, inasmuch as it is a practical carrying out, in one direction, of the principle which lies at the bottom of all assertion of Slave-law—namely that every human right and every divine requirement must give way and be trampled in the dust, when they come in conflict with the assumed right to hold property in man.

Our readers will remember the case of Rev. Jesse McBride, whom we mentioned, some months since, as having been indicted in Virginia on a charge of circulating incendiary publications, in giving to a little girl a tract published some years ago by the American Anti-Slavery Society, in which an application of the Ten Commandments is made to the system of Southern Slavery. It will be seen that for this *crime* Mr. McBride has been sentenced to imprisonment for one year, to stand in the pillory for one hour, and to be whipped twenty lashes! It is true the defendant has appealed to a higher Court, but that does not alter the fact that this barborous sentence was given in a Court of Justice, and is in accordance with the law of one of the Sovereign States of the Union. Mr. McBride is a travelling Minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The report of the case is as follows:

Forsyth Supreme Court,

The Fall Term of the Superior Court for Forsyth county was held last week,—Judge Manly presiding. There was but one case of general importance disposed of, to wit, "The State *vs.* Jesse McBride and Adam Crooke," on a charge of circulating an incendiary publication. The defendants were indicted under the act of 1830, being the 17th section of the chapter on Crimes and Punishments in the Revised Statutes, which is as follows:

"If any person shall knowingly bring into the State, with an intent to circulate, or knowingly circulate or publish within this State, or shall aid or abet the bringing into this State, or the circulation or publication within the State, any written or printed pamphlet or paper, whether written or printed in or out of the State, the evident tendency whereof would be to excite insurrection, conspiracy or resistance in the slaves or free persons of color within the State, or which shall advise or persuade slaves or free persons of color to insurrection, conspiracy or resistance, such person so offending shall be deemed guilty of felony, and, on conviction thereof in any court having jurisdiction thereof, shall for the first offence be imprisoned not less than one year, and be put in the pillory and whipped, at the discretion of the court, and for the second offence shall suffer death without benefit of the clergy."

This case had excited intense interest in Forsyth and the adjoining counties, and the trial was attended by a large crowd of anxious spectators. It was taken up on Friday morning and occupied the whole day and until 9 or 10 o'clock at night. The State was ably represented by John A. Gilmer and Hugh Waddell, Esqrs., and the defendants by C. Mendenhall and James T. Moreheac, Esqs. Great latitude was allowed by the Court to the defendant's counsel, and every disposition shown to give them a fair and impartial hearing: and no one who witnessed the zeal and ability of the counsel for the defendants can accuse them of not discharging their whole duty towards their clients.

The pamphlet on the circulation of which the charge was founded, and which was read in evidence, contained a sort of running commentary on the Ten Commandments, couched in the violent and canting language of the abolitionists, and intended to show that slaveholders live in the habitual violation of said Commandments. The essential point of evidence was the proof that McBride, on leaving the house of Mr. Kenedy, where he and Crooks had stayed all night, put this pamphlet into the hands of Mr. K's daughter, a little girl of ten or twelve years old.

After the argument of counsel, and a clear and intelligent charge from the Judge, admitted on both sides to be impartial, at a late hour the jury retired and remained together all night. At the opening of the Court on Saturday morning the jury come in with their verdict of *Guilty* as to McBride, and *not guilty* as to Crooks. [We may here remark that there was no evidence adduced before the Court against Crooks, except his association with McBride.]

The Judge proceeded to pronounce against McBride substantially the sentence prescribed in the statue, viz: imprisonment for one year, in the pillory for one hour, and twenty lashes. The defendant took an appeal to the Supreme Court.

These men have been travelling in neighboring sections for some time, in the character of preachers, sent here from some ecclesiastical body in Ohio. It is not for us to discern the *motives* of their mission; but the *effect* is evil, notoriously evil; and seeing this, as they can hardly fail to perceive it, they ought to desist from their operations among us. One of them has been convicted, after as fair a trial as any man ever had, of a wilful violation of the laws. It was in evidence that he had publicly declared his purpose to persist in the course he had pursued in his ministry, regardless of the law, &c. Nothing but that high sense of loyalty to the law, which happily pervades the community, has saved him from summary punishment; and if he can with impunity violate the law of the land, would he complain if an outraged community to do the same thing in regard to him?

It was remarked that these men conducted themselves with propriety during their attendance at Court. McBride was bound in a heavy sum, with surety, not to circulate any more pamphlets of the same character, during the pendency of his appeal.

Jenny Lind.—Although Jenny Lind forgot, in the distribution of her charitable donations, the American Anti-Slavery Society—we wonder if anybody has told her that "the flag of the free" is flapping over three million slaves—Barnum has not forgotten, though remembered rather of the latest, in the distribution of Concert tickets, the editor of the *Standard*. He hardly expects, we presume, a criticism of the "nightingale's" music now, nor should we presume to give it even were not our musical critic hopelessly out of town. It is only proper to say, however, that those members of our "staff" who were the recipients of this favor are as extravagant as anybody about Jenny, and are quite determined to render nugatory among our country acquaintance the advice of the excellent woman Friend on Long Island, who stated in meeting that she understood that "a young singing woman by the name of Jane Lynde had come out to this country and caused a good deal of excitement, but it was to be hoped that should she come out to Long Island our beloved young friends would be mindful of the principles and order of the Society."

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. LXVIII.

The Argument. — *The Corespondent doubteth but beginneth with Jenny Lind — Bad Dreams—The Pitchburg Hall—Corkscrew staircases and Lord Byron's opinion—A bottled Audience—The Black Hole—Barnum comforteth the patients—Governor Briggs and Queen Jenny—The State and the Church—The Correspondent in Pennsylvania—He saith Ditto to the Corresponding Editor—The Philadelphia Slave Case—Hall of Independence and Hall of Slavery exalted above it—The Hearing—The Discharge—Judge Grier justifieth his patriotism—David Paul Brown—Mr. Gibbons—A Judge judged—Bloodhounds in Boston—The pursuers pursued—The Marshal and the Judge—The Secretary, the Bey, and the waiters—Political Prettinesses—Prospects of Truck and Dicker—Mr. Mann and the Webster Whigs—The Boston Nomination—"Deus interait"—Abortive Nominations—The Correspondent concludeth the whole matter with a hope of another letter, &c. &c. &c.*

Bowton, Oct. 26, 1850.

Several weeks having passed since my last lucubration I hardly know where to begin my epistolary gossip. Jenny Lind has passed away like a dream, and a very bad one at the last. The last Concert, over the Fitchburg Station, was a very nightmare to the sufferers. The Hall is immense, but is approached by a narrow spiral staircase, one of those "corkscrew abominations" to which the late Lord Byron, in one of his letters, applies an epithet descriptive of the future state of the wicked, which I forbear to repeat, declaring that "no legs, however crooked (and his were none of the straightest), could, by any possibility, accommodate themselves to them." At the top of the staircase was a long narrow passage, with windows only into the Railway Offices, which gave admission to the Hall. It was, for all the world, like a bottle, of which this passage was the neck, and the spiral staircase aforesaid the corkscrew. The consequence was, that when the Hall was full, and the promenade tickets admitted this passage became so closely packed with human nature that the Black Hole at Calcutta was an airy and desirable residence in the comparison. The breaking of the windows on the side was an act of self-preservation, and the breaking of the peace was certainly no extraordinary recreation, under the circumstances. However, the next morning, the sufferers were comfortably assured by Barnum that there was plenty of room for a thousand more! He had, however, taken care to be "nowhere," first. It was rather an ignoble ending of the flight of the Nightingale in these parts.

I told you of the homage paid to Queen Jenny by our Municipal Authorities. I am happy to be able to inform you that the Bay State itself was not wanting to its due allegiance and the proper expression thereof. His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable Council went in state to lay the Commonwealth at her feet, and had a most gracious reception. This was no more than proper on the part of Gov. Briggs, as the Chief Magistrate of the State; but I do not exactly see how he could reconcile this encouragement of an actress and public singer with his position as a pillar of the Baptist Church. I apprehend that he must have undergone a struggle similar to that of the Governer of Tilbury Fort, in the Critic, in regard to the fair Tilburina's distresses.

"The *Deacon* softens, but the *Governor* is firm!"

I have not heard that any "steps" have been taken with him by the Saints that are in Pittsfield, but cannot believe they can be so wanting to so vital a testimony. But, perhaps, they think it best to wait until after Election.

I have been off my accustomed beat for one week on a visit to Pennsylvania, to attend the Anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, at West Chester. Your Corresponding Editor gave so full an account of his experience on that occasion, last week, that, as mine did not materially differ from his, I can only say *ditto* to that gentleman. It was a most successful Meeting, in every respect, as to numbers, spirit, speaking and thoroughness. Its social influences, I believe, both on the members and the people of the town, were most salutary. They were, certainly, most agreeable. On our return to Philadelphia, the first news we heard was that the first slave under the new law had been arrested, and was in custody against a hearing the next morning. Next day, we all repaired to the Circuit Court Room, to witness this passage of American history. It was odd and characteristic enough to be passing by the Hall of Independence, where the Declaration was signed, as we went upstairs to hear it solemnly adjudged that all men are *not* born free and equal, and are *not* entitled to liberty and the pursuit of happiness. On entering the Court Room, which is a handsome one, with a tablet to the memory of Judge Washington (whom I remember to have seen presiding there the last time I was in it), we found the process going forward, Mr. Justice Grier of the Supreme Court, and District Judge Kane, on the Bench, and the poor fugitive, with his wife by his side, confronting them.

There was evidence enough, under the law, to show that the man was a slave as claimed, but the claimant failed to make out his title to him—his owner from whom he had escaped having died, and the executorship of the claimant not being properly authenticated. The discharge of the defendant followed, though not until Judge Grier had made it perfectly plain that it was through no fault of his that he escaped. He querulously stated that he had gone to the utmost limits of judicial propriety (most people present, I imagine, thought they must have been pretty extensive limits), the night before, in explaining to the claimants what course they ought to pursue. According to the maxims of English law, the Judge is expected to be counsel for the prisoner, and see that he has all his legal rights. But, according to this oracle of American law, it would seem that our American Judges may act as counsel for the prosecution, and lend the weight of their learning and experience to crush the most forlorn of captives.

matter. Mr. Stevenson (whose nomination was a bitter pill to the party) having declined, for private reasons, the Convention, yesterday, nominated Mr. William Appleton, a merchant of great wealth and private excellence; but who, probably, a week ago, expected to become Emperor of Japan quite as soon as Member of Congress. I trust that there will be found Whigs enough to interrogate this gentleman as to his views touching the repeal of the Fugitive Bill, that the voters may be made intelligent in their action, and have, at least, the choice of helping to wipe away the infamy which the vote of the present Representative of Boston has attached to her name.

But it is high time to stop. If there should be happenings enough, perhaps I may send you another letter next week.—D. Y.

Communications.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Citizens of Easton in relation to the "Fugitive Slave Law."

At a meeting of citizens of Easton, Washington county, New York, held 16th of 10th month, 1850, to consider the subject of the "Fugitive Slave Law;" F. M. Tobey was called to the Chair, and Samuel Wilbur chosen Secretary.

A report was presented from a Committee appointed at a former meeting, consisting of a form for a memorial to Congress, asking for a repeal of the obnoxious Law; and a series of Resolutions expressive of the sense of the meeting.

The assembly was then ably addressed by Judge Lourie, of Greenwich, setting forth the enormities of the Law in a most striking and convincing light. He was followed by other speakers, giving interesting and impressive views of the general subject. The memorial to Congress was adopted and recommended to be circulated for signatures. The Resolutions were then taken up and after a free expression of sentiment, were adopted by the unanimous rising of the assemblage; as follows:—

Whereas, the Law passed at the late session of Congress, usually known as the "Fugitive Slave Bill" demands our attentive consideration, and whereas, we have met to deliberate and express our sentiments on the subject, therefore

1. Resolved, that we have no wish, on the spur of the moment, to give vent to angry, vindictive or inflammatory feelings, but we would give utterance to our calm, deliberate views; we would speak "The words of Truth and Soberness."

2. Resolved, That if we recognized no "Higher Law;" if we know no "other God" than the Constitution of our Country; even then the Law before us must receive our emphatic condemnation, as we deem it an invasion, not only of our Natural, but of our Constitutional rights.

3. Resolved, That if we were so selfish as to care for none but ourselves—so narrow-minded as to regard the welfare of none but those of purely Anglo-Saxon blood, still we should regard this Law with aversion and abhorrence, as it describes its victims only as "Persons held to service," without any reference to the color of the skin, the shape of the features or the curling of the hair. And as our Southern Brethren sometimes describe their straying property as possessing "clear white skins," "flaxen hair" and "Roman noses," we see no Legal security to prevent any one of us from being seized on the affidavit of some person in Alabama or Texas, and some unprincipled miscreant of a Commissioner, for the sake of the proffered bribe of five Dollars, might recognize our identity with the person described in the affidavit, and consign us forthwith to the tender mercies of the slave-catcher.

4. Resolved, That if the American Colonists had little cause for satisfaction at the Repeal of the "Stamp Act" while that Repeal was accompanied by the declaration that "Parliament had a right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever;" still less cause have we to be satisfied by the more than doubtful assertion of the Friends of this Law, that "No Freeman will be likely to be captured under it;" while we see on our Statute Book an enactment which sweeps away at one fell stroke, the rights of Habeas Corpus, and Trial by Jury.

5. Resolved, That while as lovers of peace and order in community, it would be painful to us to disregard or violate governmental statutes; yet, when these statutes conflict with our truest convictions of right, we have no other alternative—and to those who condemn us herein, we would say "Whether it be right for us to obey God rather than man, judge ye."

6. Resolved, That so long as we recognize it as our duty to obey the Ruler of the Universe, rather than the fallible and too often corrupt rulers of men, although our legislators may pile up enactment on enactment, and suspend over our heads their threatened penalties, we fearlessly avow it as our settled purpose, when occasion shall present, to observe the injunction, "Hide the outcast" and "Bewray not him that wandereth."

7. Resolved, That we call upon the friends of Liberty and Humanity in every town, village and hamlet in our land to assemble and give utterance to their sentiments in a voice which cannot be mistaken by our Rulers, and which shall furnish evidence to all that we are not prepared to sit silently by and see our own rights as men and citizens basely bartered away.

8. Resolved, That the men who basely absented themselves from their seats in Congress, when the question was taken on this Bill, rather than meet their responsibility as Representatives of the people, should meet the disapprobation of every patriotic friend of Human Rights.

9. Resolved, That if our compromising statesmen expected to give "Peace" and "Quiet" to the community by the adoption of measures like this, they have proved themselves widely mistaken, and the result confirms the adage, "Honesty is the best policy."

On motion, it was Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by its officers and published in the *Union Village Journal*, and that the *Albany Atlas* and *Evening Journal*, the *New York Tribune*, *Evening Post*, and *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Burritt's Christian Citizen*, the *National Era*, and all other papers friendly to Freedom, be respectfully requested to copy.

FRANCIS M. TOBEY, Ch'n.
Sam'l, Wilbur, Sec'y.

Miscellaneous.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Pursuant to the published call of its Executive Committee, this Society convened in the Horticultural Hall, at West Chester, on Tuesday morning, October 15th, 1850.

Robert Purvis, President of the Society, called the meeting to order, and opened its exercises by a brief and appropriate allusion to the present aspects of our cause and our encouragements to effort. Though it is true, he remarked, that the myrmidons of Slavery have plundered the National Treasury of ten millions of dollars, and have grasped a hundred thousand square miles of free territory, to convert it into a market for their human chattels; though it is true they have defeated the attempt to bar Slavery from the New Territories of the Nation; and though, they have also enacted the inhuman and atrocious Fugitive Slave Law, there was probably never a period in the history of our just and holy cause so promising as the present. Still strong in our faith, hopeful and cheerful, meet on this beautiful autumn day, under this October sun, as bright as that when the "Godlike Daniel" pledged New England to sustain in good faith the "Compromises of the Constitution"—We meet to repudiate those 'Compromises' and seek the entire abolition of the system of cruelty and blood which they uphold. From a death-like lethargy we have awakened the American people to this question. Every where the nation is convulsed by the conflict between Slavery and Freedom. The quickened conscience of our nation is on our side, all the generous sympathies and noble sentiments of human nature are on our side; God is on our side. We cannot falter or despond, or fear defeat. It is only for us to persevere in duty, and success is sure.

The Recording Secretary of the Society being unable to attend, C. M. Burleigh was chosen Secretary *pro tem*, and Ann Preston, Assistant Secretary.

The following persons were appointed a Business Committee:

J. M. McKim, William I. Bowditch, Thomas Whitson, E. M. Davis, Mary Grew, William H. Johnson, E. F. Pennypacker.

A nominating Committee was also chosen, consisting of Sarah Pugh, Thomas Garnett, Chandler Darlington, John Vickers, Mary Cox.

James Mott read a letter from Mr. Garrison, expressing regret at his inability to attend our Anniversary in consequence of recent domestic affliction.

On motion of J. M. McKim, it was voted, That all persons present or who may be present, during the sessions of this Society, whether friendly or unfriendly to its principles, be, and hereby are invited to participate in its discussions.

Mr. McKim remarked, that it was usual for us to extend the largest liberty to all opinions in our public meetings. Not that we court debate for the sake of debate. We speak frankly our own convictions, and wish that those who dissent from us should have equal freedom to explain and vindicate their dissent. Unlike most religious denominations, it is not our custom to open our meetings with any set religious forms, while every person is at liberty to use them if he pleases.—This is not that we have no desire for the Divine presence in our hearts. I believe that many hearts in this assembly long for this presence with peculiar fervor at this time. Now that we are called to "weep with those that weep," and "remember those in bonds as bound with them," we feel the more the need of strength and guidance from on high. The speaker feelingly alluded to the terror, anguish, and cruel hardships caused by the Fugitive Law among the people of color, showing that the Scripture injunction to "Weep with those who weep" was indeed no figure of speech. He narrated several painful facts illustrating the real danger to every colored man, and the alarm felt by all classes of them at the operation of this cruel law. These and other circumstances under which we gather, he concluded, give a deep and solemn interest to the present occasion, and make us desire that "wisdom from above which is first pure, then peacible, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits without partiality and without hypocrisy."

After brief remarks from some other speakers, the Society adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

Afternoon.

The Society met as adjourned. The President in the chair.

The Annual Report of the Executive Committee, containing an elaborate and valuable review of the progress and history of the Anti-Slavery cause during the past year especially in this State, was read by J. M. McKim and heard with an attentive interest by the large and crowded assembly.

A motion, by Chandler Darlington, to appoint a committee to procure the printing of the Report, if practicable, for circulation in this meeting, was lost after some discussion; the Society having been informed that the Executive Committee had already taken measures for its publication in a pamphlet, together with the proceedings of the Annual Meeting.

Wm. I. Bowditch of Boston followed in a clear and forcible speech, which was listened to with the deepest interest, stating and elucidating the principles and measures of the Anti-Slavery Society, and especially defending its position relative to political action.

Parker Pillsbury occupied the remainder of the afternoon, in an able speech upon the great moral revolution in which we are engaged; showing its superiority to the Revolution of '76, and the necessity of a stronger virtue on the part of those who carry it on.

On motion, it was voted that the hours of meeting be 9 in the morning, 2 in the afternoon, and 7 in the evening.

The evening session was well attended and was occupied by addresses from Edmund Quincy and Parker Pillsbury, and brief remarks from James Mott, all of which were listened to with a quiet and gratifying attention, by the numerous auditory.

Wednesday Morning, October 16th.

The Society was called to order by the President, and the minutes of the previous day were read by the Secretary.

The following letter from Francis Jackson, of Boston, in reply to the invitation of the Executive Committee to attend this meeting, was read by the Secretary:

Boston, October 10, 1850.

J. Miller McKim—Dear Friend: I thank you for your kind invitation to attend the annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

I regret my inability to be with you on that occasion. It would have given me much pleasure to have met the Abolitionists of your Society, those noble men and women, who have banded themselves together, to seek and save those which are lost. That was the mission of the great Reformer; there was none higher, or more unpopular in his day; there is none in ours.

In our day we have holy books, houses, ceremonies, compacts, and alliances; long faces, and silent pulpits, we have to any extent; but long arms that will loose the chain, and lift the slave—how few. Arms there are, by thousands, that wield the slave driver's whip,—fire-arms, and bloodhounds;—reverend clergymen and honorable statesmen, cold and cruel, who have bound themselves with an oath to surrender to Slavery innocent men and women—an oath horrible to take, and far more horrible to keep; Rulers we have, ordained of God, it is said, (what God?) enacting stronger chains, and heavier penalties, in derision of Christianity, and in defiance of the true God.

The Constitution of the United States, with all its crushing weight, is upon the breast of the slave, placed there knowingly and designedly, and the religious sects and political parties are standing thereon, glorifying in their platform, and boasting of their fidelity to its wicked compromises.

We have twelve or fifteen hundred millions of stolen capital in men and women, legalized and protected, in the hands of thieves and adulterers, who rule the nation.

Abolitionists! can you stand erect, and fearlessly confront such mighty obstacles to Freedom? Then are you the true representatives of the slave, whose chains must be melted down by the power of truth.

I congratulate the Abolitionists everywhere upon the manifest progress of the Anti-Slavery cause; more especially do I congratulate those Abolitionists who do not take oaths to support this piratical goverment, those who are not voluntary partners to enactments the most detestable, to wickedness the most concentrated.

It is written that "the righteous shall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger."

Francis Jackson.

The Treasurers Report was then read as given below:

Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society—Report of the Treasurer for the year ending 10th month 1st, 1850.

RECEIPTS.

Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society,	$ 20,00
Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society	100,00
Individual Subscriptions,	1633,80
Churchill Houston, Legacy,	500,00
Interest on do	120,00
Publishing Agent,	1809,50
	$ 5082,90

PAYMENTS.

Balance due Treasurer on last year's ac't,	$ 98,07
Anti-Slavery Standard,	450,00
Pennsylvania Freeman, Tracts, &c.,	2275,70
Interest on loans,	15,50
Salaries of Agents,	1718,14
Rent of Office,	253,75
Sundries,	251,62
	$ 5032,15
Balance on hand,	50,75
	$ 5082,90

SARAH PUGH, Treasurer.

Philadelphia, 10 mo. 1850.

The undersigned having been appointed by the Executive Committee to examine the Treasurer's account, reports it correct, and that the foregoing is a true abstract of the receipts and payments, showing a balance in the Treasurer's hands on the 1st instant of $50,75.

HAWORTH WETHERADD, Auditor,

Philadelphia, 10 mo. 1850.

The Business Committee reported a series of resolutions which were accepted for consideration and after discussion and various modifications were finally adopted as follows:

THE SIN OF SLAVERY.

1. Resolved, That American Slavery is an outrage on the inalienable rights of man, a violation of all the laws of God, and a disgrace and a curse to this nation, and ought to be immediately and unconditionaly abolished.

NATIONAL GUILT.

2. Resolved, That the American nation, by holding in bondage three millions of its population, while it proclaims itself 'a refuge for the oppressed of all nations,' 'the freest government upon earth,' 'a model Republic,' has convicted itself of unparalleled hypocrisy, and merits the contempt and indignation of the civilized world.

THE CONSTITUTION.

3 Resolved, That the American Constitution, by its concession of extraordinary political power to the slaveholder, in the right which it gives him to represent three-fifths of his human property, by its pledge of the power of the nation to strike down the slave if he rises in arms for his liberty, and its provisions for his re-capture and restoration, if he attempts to secure the same boon by flight, is a compact with injustice, and a league with oppression; and deserves to be repudiated and spurned by all true abolitionists, and all true men.

THE CHURCH.

4. Resolved, That the American Church, as a body, in the sanction and support which it gives to American slavery, by receiving to its communion tables and into its pulpit, the stealers of men; by its reproaches, excommunication, and persecution of those who plead the cause of the dumb, and him that hath no helper; by conferring its honors upon the oppressor, while it refuses to be a refuge for the oppressed: by allowing its members to vote and to be voted for under the Constitution of the United States, has proved itself utterly unworthy of the name of Christ, and ought not to be regarded or treated as Christian.

5. Resolved, That those portions of the church which, remembering those in bonds as bound with them, are striving to deliver the oppressed out of the hand of the spoiler, and to purify themselves from all participation in slave-holding, deserve our honorable remembrance in this evil age.

FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

6. Resolved, That the present Congress of the United States, has stamped itself with indelible infamy, by the passage of the fugitive slave bill, and that every member who voted for it, and any man who aids in its execution, is guilty of treachery to humanity, and treason against God.

7. Resolved, That as friends of the slave and lovers of liberty and right, we are bound to repudiate and resist, by all righteous means, this infamous statute, and that we hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to each other, to the flying bondmen, to our country, and to our God, that we will neither obey nor regard it: that though fines and imprisonment be our only alternative, *we will not* "bewray him that wandereth," nor "deliver to the master the servant who hath escaped from his master unto" us.

8. Resolved, That our warmest sympathies are with our persecuted brothers and sisters, in our midst, who are particularly exposed to the cruel workings of this bill; and that, although according to the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, and the practice of the great majority of professed Christians, our colored friends are fully justified in resisting its execution by force of arms; this Society recommends them to resort to Christian measures only, for deliverance out of the hands of their enemies.

9. Resolved, That the names of Daniel B. Sturgeon, of the United States Senate, and James Thompson, James X. McLanahan, Thomas Rose, Jon Mann, Milo M. Dimmick, and John Robbins, Jr., of the House of Representatives ought to be placed on record as Traitors to Humanity, and their characters held in detestation by all men, and especially by such as are interested in the honor and welfare of Pennsylvania.

10. Resolved, That this Society deeply and sincerely sympathises with our generous and intrepid brother, Wm. L. Chaplin of New York, who is now incarcerated in a Maryland prison because of his obedience to the promptings of Humanity and the injunctions of the Christian religion; and that we regard his arrest and imprisonment as another proof that justice, humanity, and the rights of conscience are sacrificed in our National Capital to Slavery.

11. Resolved, That every motive and obligation which binds us to persuade our brother man to a true life, or to dissuade him from self-destruction, or any ruinous vice, equally binds us to persuade and assist him to escape from the brutalizing bondage of Slavery.

OUR MAIN OBJECT.

12. Resolved, That while we rejoice in the escape of every fugitive from Slavery, and in the opportunity to give assistance, shelter, and protection to all such fugitives, our chief and all-important work is,—not to aid the escape of individual slaves, nor to prevent the extension of Slavery, but the immediate and total abolition of Slavery wherever it may exist.

13. Resolved, That every new outrage and every new demand and victory of the Slave Power, is a new motive to us to press on in this great work with fresh resolution and courage, until full success shall crown our efforts, and every slave is restored to Freedom and manhood.

PERSONAL DUTY.

14. Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery Cause demands of every man and woman in the community the co-operation of heartfelt interest and active and efficient aid according to his or her abilities.

THE FAIR.

15. Resolved, That we recommend to our friends to aid efficiently the Pennsylvania A. S. Fair, to be held in Philadelphia in December next.

FREE PRODUCE.

16. Resolved, That we recommend to all enemies of Slavery to abstain, as far as practicable, from the consumption of the productions of Slave labor, as an endeavor after personal purity and a testimony against the robbery of the slave by the slaveholder.

17. Resolved, That the efforts made by the Free Produce Associations for developing the resources which exist on this Continent and elsewhere for the supply of free goods, and to meet the increasing demand for them, have our thankful acknowledgments, with our earnest wishes for their continuance.

COLONIZATION.

18. Resolved, That we regard the recent movements of Congress on the subject of Colonization, taken in conjunction with the new Fugitive Slave Law, as a most unmistakeable demonstration of the hatred of this nation to the African race, and a determination that the race shall not exist among us, except in the capacity of chattel Slaves.

19. Resolved, That we rejoice in the unanimity with which the people of color have always opposed and execrated this wicked and most infamous scheme—and we hereby renew our unalterable testimony and our unshaken determination to oppose and defeat its designs, by any and every means in our power, that are sanctioned by wisdom and prudence, and that are in accordance with the laws and government of God.

ANTI-KIDNAPPING LAW.

20. Resolved, That as there is reason to apprehend that there will be a renewed attempt at the ensuing session of the Legislature to repeal the "Act to prevent kidnapping," &c., of 1847, the Executive Committee of this Society be instructed to use such measures in the way of prevention as in their judgment may be deemed necessary.

PETITIONS.

21. Resolved, That this Society earnestly request the Abolitionists of this State, to circulate throughout their several neighborhoods, petitions to Congress and the State Legislature, in favor of the various objects which we are laboring to accomplish.

JAMES FULTON, JR.

22. Resolved, That in view of his principles and services, and the earnest sincerity of their advocacy, we sincerely mourn the loss of James Fulton, Jr., from the the scene of his useful labors, and sympathise with his relatives and friends in their bereavement.

On motion of Chandler Darlington, the resolutions were taken up separately for action. After a brief discussion, in which Chandler Darlington, J. M. McKim, Simon Barnard, Edward Needles, Rowland Johnson, and others participated, the first resolutions upon Slavery, the guilt of the American nation, and the Constitution, were adopted.

The Church resolutions came up, and were discussed through the forenoon with much spirit, and the position of the leading sects of the country toward the Anti-Slavery Cause was examined and exposed.

Mr. Pillsbury thought the resolutions not sufficiently pointed, and offered the following substitute, which he defended at considerable length, but withdrew at a subsequent session of the meeting.

Resolved, That the Government of the country, being open rebellion and treason against the Government of God, by its support of Slavery, its slaughter of the Seminole Indians, its murder of 80,000 Mexicans, and seizure of a vast extent of their country for slaveholding—the enactment of laws, with fearful penalties, against the highest, holiest, and plainest demands of Christian kindness and philanthropy—any Church that voluntarily supports that Government, whose members vote in it, or are, (with their own consent) voted for, is a scandal and libel on truth and goodness; a synagogue of Satan, an enemy of righteousness and of God, and as such, should be spurned as the most dangerous and fatal foe to the interests and happiness of man.

He thought that Abolitionists should come out of bodies which upheld a war-making and slave-holding and man-hunting government, a government which sanctions piracy, and thus testify against them as unchristian and corrupt—though he had no complaint to make of them if they stayed in to rebuke and reform them In that case, however, if they were to do their duty, they would soon be cast out, or the Church would reform its action. The discussion was further continued by Thomas Hambleton, William Thorne, Dr. Hiram Corson, Thomas Whitson and others. Dr. Corson opposed Mr. Pillsbury's substitute; he could not see the sinfulness of voting in the Government for honest and competent officers. If the act was so criminal, Abolitionists ought not to encourage the Free Soilers, and rejoice in their successes as they have heretofore done.

Thomas Whitson had no quarrel with Friend Pillsbury respecting the corruptions of the Church, nor did he fear the effect of plain speech. This large meeting was perhaps one result of our plain speech. He would have our rebukes as severe as truth. He believed that Anti-Slavery men had a field of duty and labor in the Church; not for its quiet. They should go there to agitate, not for the sake of agitation; but that the troubling of the waters may purify them. He wished friend Pillsbury to have a little patience, and wait the working of the leaven, and not despair if the whole lump is not instantly leavened.

After a brief rejoinder from Mr. Pillsbury showing the gross inconsistency of the Friends Society, in excluding men for marriage, while permitting them, unrebuked, to exalt slaveholders and man-killers to high offices, the Society adjourned to afternoon.

Afternoon.

At the appointed hour James Mott, as Vice President, took the Chair, and the discussion on the Church resolutions was continued by Thomas Whitson. He said the Anti-Slavery Society has sought no conflict with the Church,—we sought to enlist the Pulpit as well as the Press, but met opposition and reproach where we should have found sympathy and support We were forced to collision, and to tell unwelcome truth of them. The severest thing, however, was that we proved what we said.

The Church question was then laid on the table, and the question of finance taken up. A Finance Committee was chosen, consisting of C. M. Burleigh, Edward Webb, Alice Jackson, Rebecca Plumley and William Lloyd.

Before the opening of the finance discussion, Mr. Bowditch addressed the Society in a calm, argumentative and eloquent speech, in support of the following sentiment,—which he presented as a text:

"That those persons in the Free States who give any voluntary support to the Constitution of the United States are slaveholders and idolators."

Mary Grew then moved the adoption of the resolution upon personal duties, and advising active aid to the cause, (No. 14) and sustained it in a thrilling appeal to the hearts of the audience, urging the claims of the Anti-Slavery Cause upon every person in the community.

At the request of E. M. Davis and the call of the audience, Sarah A. McKim sung "The Blind Slave Boy," remarking as she rose, "I cannot speak for the slave, but I will try to sing for him." The beautiful song was received with subdued feeling and moistened eyes by the immense assembly, and touched the chords of sympathy in many hearts present. While the Financial Committee passed through the meeting, taking subscriptions and pledges in aid of the Society, remarks were made upon the subject by Thomas Whitson, P. Pillsbury, Amos Gilbert, and several others. Thomas Whitson proposed that two hundred persons should pledge $10 00 each, to be paid during the year into the Society's Treasury, following his suggestion by a pledge for himself to that amount. Several persons responded with similar pledges.

The resolutions upon the Fugitive Slave Law, (6, 7, and 8,) were then taken up, and after stirring and eloquent speeches from Robert Purvis, Edmund Quincy and others, the 8th was referred to the Business Committee for modification of its language, and the 6th and 7th were adopted by a unanimous vote. The 8th resolution was subsequently reported again, and passed in its present form by a strong vote.

The Church resolutions were again taken up and discussed until the hour of adjournment. Simpson Preston stated that the Methodist clergyman of West Chester was present, and had denounced the statements concerning the pro-slavery position of the Church, made by several speakers as false and slanderous, and the speakers themselves as infidels and blasphemers, and requested that the clergyman be invited to come forward and publicly substantiate his assertions, and show any errors of fact or principle in our assertions. It was replied that a general invitation had already been extended to *all* persons to participate in our deliberations, and that the clergyman would, of course, be welcome to avail himself of that invitation. He, however, with more discretion than magnanimity, declined attempting to support his assertions in the presence of the speakers he had privately and unjustly assailed. Whether his courage will return to him when he has the field entirely to himself, time will tell.

On motion, the question of Free Produce was made the order of the day at the opening of the meeting tomorrow morning, when the Society adjourned.

Evening.

The Society again convened, the hall being crowded by an audience, the great body of whom were eager to hear. Among them, however, were "a few rude fellows of the baser sort," who had been stimulated by false reports to come and vindicate the abused church and injured politicians, by breaking up the meeting; but the frowns and disapprobation of prominent citizens of West Chester, and the prompt interference of the authorities, checked that spirit at its first manifestation, and the meeting continued without interruption and with increasing interest to a late hour.

At its opening the President took the Chair, and the Church resolutions (4 and 5) with Mr. Pillsbury's substitute came up.

J. M. McKim expressed his preference for the original resolutions, believing them strictly true and sufficiently severe.

Mr. Pillsbury replied in a speech marked with great power and a stern and solemn denunciation of the religious bodies which pass by the slave and strike hands with his oppressors. He urged all Abolitionists to testify against such bodies by leaving them. He contrasted the ease-loving worldly Quakerism of this day, with the sturdy Quakerism which shook two continents with its mighty deeds and words of fire, in the days of Fox and Penn. Wm. Penn's words and life were a rebuke to the Quakers of this time. He wrote a book under the name of "No Cross, no Crown." If that sentiment be true what hope has modern Quakerism? It has no cross to bear. There was a time when to be a Quaker exposed one to reproach, buffeting stripes imprisonment and death; and now the name encounters no persecution. The broad brim and drab coat are everywhere the passport to respectability. Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster and Gen. Cass, can eulogize the Quaker Society now, and quote them as endorsers of their treachery to man and practical atheism. They support the Government in its robbery of God's poor children, and join hands with the cruelest tyrants and bloodiest homicides to elevate slaveholders and warriors to office.

Mary Grew objected to the substitute that it was not true or just. She would be as harsh as truth and stern as justice, but would not condemn the innocent with the guilty. The necessity of rebuke to the church was too clear for doubt. It calls itself the light of the world, claims that a belief in its doctrines are necessary to salvation, and leaves three milions of heathen to perish in our midst. Episcopal and Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches, all join hands with slaveholders, as christian brethren, and honor them as reverend apostles, while they profess to have no fellowship with sinners or unbelievers; they can denounce dancing as a sin, marying a deceased wife's sister as incest, but they have no word of censure for the slaveholder. We only apply their own principles to them in our rebukes: out of their own mouths are they condemned. When you think that Abolitionists are too severe, sit down and ask what the church is. Think of the language of its pulpits—its prayers for the success of the Mexican war, and its diabolical defences of Slavery, think of its action—its selling its own members like horses, to build its temples or buy its communion service. You say you are not guilty, of such deeds, but are you not striking hands with those who are? If you hold no slaves are you not supporting Slavery at the polls? What is the difference in morality between holding slaves yourself and appointing others to hold them for you?

The Friends claim to bear a testimony against Slavery and war, but with what face can they answer those queries when coming from the ballot box where they voted for Zachary Taylor?

On motion, it was voted to limit the speakers during the remainder of the evening to ten minutes.

Chandler Darlington thought the speakers who had condemned voting under the government, had not made any distinction between voting to reform evils, and voting to support them. It was true that the Constitution was defective, but it could be amended only by voting.

Rowland Johnson said that many friends of the slave were not prepared to leave the Church. They felt that they had a duty to do there, and were trying to do it, and thus far were encouraged to persevere. Our friend Thomas Whitson is himself an illustration of the utility of this course. Through his labors and those of others who agree with him, his monthly meeting has been brought to take high Anti-Slavery grounds. Had he left his meeting instead of working in it where would it now have been? Those who will act upon the church directly, must be in it, for they will not hear those who are not members in their meetings. Our beloved friend, Lucretia Mott, whose absence from this meeting, in consequence of ill health, we all so deeply regret, is another example of the benefit of working within the church. She is creating there an Anti-Slavery sentiment which will yet reform the whole body.

This debate was continued with great spirit, and a growing interest till a late hour, by Edmund Quincy, Dr. Stebbins, Robert Purvis, Wm. I. Bowditch, Chandler Darlington, Abraham Shadd, James Mott, P. Pillsbury and Simpson Preston. Mr. Pillsbury withdrew his substitute, and No. 4 was adopted; No. 5 being postponed till the next day, when it also passed by a hearty vote. We may hereafter give some further sketch of this evening's discussion, which our limits and time now forbid.

Thursday Morning, October 17th.

The Society convened, with a large attendance at 9 o'clock, James Mott taking the chair. After brief remarks by Nathan Evans, yesterday's minutes were read by the Secretary.

Mrs. Tyndale addressed the meeting, urging the importance of making our Anti-Slavery an abiding principle, and cultivating the spirit of love, and also encouraging every one to pacification as the only sure hope for reform, and to persevering and hopeful efforts each in his peculiar sphere. Parents should teach their children to regard colored children as their equals, to sympathize with them, to pity the poor and ignorant, try to instruct and relieve them. This we owe to ourselves and our children as well as the injured class.

It was decided that the Society should finally adjourn at the end of this session.

The following Free Produce resolutions, together with resolution No. 17, commending the action of Free Produce Associations, were then called up, and after considerable discussion, resolution No. 16 was substituted for the following, and they unanimously passed as contained (16 and 17) in our list.

1. Resolved, That we are morally bound to disconnect ourselves from any avoidable support of slavery.

2. That the consumption of the products of slave-labor is a support of slavery—essential to it—and which may be usually avoided.

3. That every man is naturally entitled to the products of his toil, and that to deprive him of them by the force of Slavery is to perpetrate a robbery upon him: and that in such case the receiver of the spoil occupies the same moral position with the immediate agent of the robbery.

These resolutions were supported by Samuel Rhoades, Abraham L. Pennock, Amos Gilbert, and Thomas Whitson. Some objections were offered to them by Edmund Quincy, who stated that as a matter of taste and feeling he sympathized with the friends of Free Produce, though he did not regard it as a matter of principle.—At his motion, resolution No. 16 was adopted as a substitute for the resolutions above.

The resolutions on Colonization (18 and 19) were then read, and after an eloquent speech in their support by Robert Purvis, were unanimously adopted.

The nominating committee presented their report of officers for the ensuing year, which after the substitution of the name of B. C Bacon in place of A. L. Pennock, at the request of the latter, was adopted as follows:

President—Edward M. Davis.

Vice Presidents—Sames Mott and Benjamin C. Bacon.

Corresponding Secretary—James Miller McKim.

Recording Secretary—Haworth Wetherald.

Treasurer—Sarah Pugh.

Additional Members—Lucretia Mott, Robert Purvis, Mary Grew, Margaret Jones, Cyrus M. Burleigh, B. Rush Plumley, Abby Kimber.

James Mott introduced to the audience Mr. Lapierre, from Indiana, who, with several of his neighbor abolitionists—for the crime of hospitality to the stranger and mercy to the unfortunate—has recently been stripped of all his property, by a decision of the United States Court, under Judge McLean. After the exhibition of his certificates of character and letters of introduction, Mr. L. came forward and briefly told the tale of the legal outrage upon himself and neighbors, for a deed of compassion to fugitive slaves. His house and all his property—the accumulation of years of labor—had been sold by the Sheriff, still leaving a heavy fine hanging over him; yet he rejoiced that he had done the deed for which he was thus called to suffer, and he felt that it was *duty*, and the fugitives he had helped were *free*. He had come to the East to ask of the humane people here some aid to himself and associates who had been stripped of their all. His simple story and unaffected appeal were listened to with strong evidence of sympathy for the sufferers, and indignation against the inhuman laws and law executors, that had thus beggared industrious and generous men for an act of mercy.

The following resolution offered by Parker Pillsbury was passed without discussion:

Resolved, That John McLean, of Ohio, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, by his flaming zeal in deciding fugitive slave cases in favor of the tyrant and ravisher, and against the victim and the ravished, and so ruining by heavy fines and costs many of the most humane and benevolent men in the nation, as well as hurling back to the woes of Slavery those who at every peril had escaped, deserves to have his name enrolled high on the scroll of everlasting infamy, with a Jeffries of England, or Nero on the throne of Rome.

The resolutions on the church, laid over from yesterday, (No. 5,) was taken up and adopted.

The resolution of censure, (No. 9,) against the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress who dishonored the State and their own manhood, by voting for the Fugitive Slave Bill, was passed by a unanimous aye, that made the roof to ring.

The resolution of sympathy for the persecuted people of color, and for Wm. L. Chaplin, (Nos. 8 and 10,) were also carried by a unanimous vote. The resolutions upon our main object, &c., (Nos. 12, and 13,) upon the anti-kidnapping law, and petitions (Nos. 20 and 21,) the notice of James Fulton, Jr. No. 22,) were adopted separately, and without debate. That upon the anti-kidnapping law is the substance of a series referred for action to the State Society by the Chester Co. Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion of Mary Grew, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Robert Purvis for the impartial, dignified and satisfactory manner with which he has discharged the duties of his office during the five years that he has been its President.

Mr. Purvis responded in a brief and eloquent speech, strong in the hope of our ultimate victory, and concluded with the following oft-quoted but thrilling lines;

"Let tyrants hold while tyrants can,
The blood and bones of living man;
Let tyrants scorn while tyrants dare
The shrieks and writhings of despair;
The end will come, it will not wait,
Bonds, yokes and scourges have their date;
Slavery itself shall pass away,
And be a tale of yesterday."

The following resolution was proposed by J. M. Mc Kim, and passed unanimously:

Resolved, That the acknowledgments of this society are due to the citizens of West Chester for the kindness and courtesy which they have extended to us during the session, of this meeting.

Mary Grew presented from the Business Committee the following resolution, which, after brief remarks upon it by the mover, was unanimously passed:

Resolved, That a review of our past labors, difficulties, defeats and triumphs, and a view of the prospects of our enterprise inspire us with the strongest hope and faith that Slavery, being a lie, is doomed to perish; that Man being endowed by his Creator with liberty, shall regain his birthright; that our Cause being the cause of God, is destined to complete and glorious victory.

At this point in the meeting, as it was about to adjourn a quaint broad brim was seen coming through the crowded aisle, and in a moment Isaac T. Hopper ascended the platform and was received with an enthusiatic greeting from the audience, while many friends crowded around to grasp the hand of the veteran philanthropist.

Friend Hopper responded to the cordial greeting of the assembly in a short speech, recalling past incidents in the progress of our cause, denouncing the Fugitive Slave bill as an emanation from the lower pit, expressing the full conviction that it cannot to any great extent be executed, and encouraging all hearts to hope on and persevere in our great work for Liberty and Right.

The Society then adjourned *sine die*, the brief presence and parting benediction of the old man causing a general joy, and giving new cheerfulness to the parting already made happy and hopeful by the success of our meeting.

C. M. Burleigh, Sec'y

—Colored Militia.—The Governor General of Canada has directed the organization of an Independent Rifle Company, to be formed of the colored men of the County of Hadlimand.

—American Temperance Society.—This Society is making progress in the great work they have undertaken. For an office, they have taken very pleasant apartments at No. 83 Nassau-st, intended also as a Temperance Reading Room and Library.

—Mr. Brown.—The American Dragoman at Constantinople, who is now accompanying the Turkish Envoy through the United States, says that the female Circassian slave markets continue in full blasts at Constantinople. Mr. B. affirms that the prices range from $600 to $10,000, according to their age and personal charms, and that the slaves are sold in what is called the Circassian quarter of the city.

—Death of Rev. S. Snowden.—We are pained to learn that this venerable and good man died suddenly some days ago. He was over 80 years old and had been a minister in the M. E. church for 40 or 50 years. Having been once a slave, though nominally free for about 50 years, the poor old man sunk under the fear that he was about to be seized and carried back again to Slavery, even in his old age. He was very shrewd, and has long been quite popular as a minister in the sect to which he belonged.—*Spiritual Philosopher.*

—A Colored Impostor.—Charles W. Swift, a colored man, in Worcester, who has represented himself to be a fugitive slave, and has elicited the special sympathies of the Worcester Spy has, the Spy says, "to some extent practised deception upon the people."

This Swift arrived at Worcester sometime since, and at the fugitive Slave meetings held there, assisted very much in raising the steam of excitement, by telling a long story of his escape, his pursuit by his master, his knocking down an officer in New York who tried to arrest him, &c. &c. The Worcester people raised funds to put him through to Canada. He has returned, and it is ascertained that he has been in the State before, and addressed Anti-Slavery meetings in Worcester, under the name of John Allen.—*Springfield Rep.*

—The recent difficulties at Cape May, between the Southern visitors and the colored servants, have induced several wealthy Baltimoreans and Virginians to determine on making Cape Charles a rival to that resort, where the Southern chivalry can wash unpolluted by Northern air. I understand that it will be fitted up with great splendor, and that any amount of means will be forthcoming, for that purpose. As some of the Southerners have resolved not to employ the vessels of Northerners, to wear their goods, to eat their produce or to have any commuication with them in the way of trade, they will no doubt resolve never to visit the North next, on any condition whatever, and whip the first child that says "Northman," without a very strong expletive attached.

—Hayti.—The *Boston Traveller* says: We have seen a letter from Hayti, from a reliable source, dated the 18th, from which the following is an extract: "It is with much satisfaction that I inform you that the country enjoys a perfect state of tranquillity. The present Government gains strength and popularity every day. His Majesty the Emperor has lately set at liberty several prisoners who were confined for political offences. Not a word is now said in respect to the projected march for the East. The Chambers are

Miscellany.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION,

AT WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

THIS Convention called to meet at Worcester, Mass., on the 23d and 24th instant, assembled at the appointed time and place, and has attracted very marked attention both from the friends and enemies of the cause it advocated. It was attended by some of the most distinguished women in this country—equally distinguished for their weight of character as for their intellectual power—and by men well known as leaders in every other reform of the age. We have received no report of the meeting, but knowing that the subject is one of deep interest to many of our readers we copy, from the *Tribune*, such reports of speeches as seem to have anything like a report made of them, together with the Resolutions.

The meeting was called to order by Mrs. EARLE, of Worcester, and Mrs PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS of Providence was chosen Chairman. Mrs. Davis' address on taking the chair was as follows:

Usage assigns to the Chair of such Conventions as this the duty of stating the objects of the meeting. But the published call under which we are convened presents such a summary of those objects as may suffice for mere statements; and the subject matters to be submitted, the discussion of them, and the action contemplated by this Convention, are equally familiar to us all.

This leaves me at liberty to occupy you for a few moments with some general reflections upon the attitude and r[illegible]ur movement to the times and circums[illegible]d upon the proper spirit and method of promoting it.

I do not even intend to treat these topics formally and I do not hope to do it successfully, for nothing less than a complete philosophy of reform could answer such inquiries, and that philosophy, it is very certain, the world has not yet discovered.

Human rights and their reasons are neither mysterious nor difficult. The world has never been ignorant of them, nor insensible to them; and human rights and human wrongs and their evils are just as familiar to experience, and as well understood. But all this is not enough to secure to mankind the possession of the one, or to relieve them from the felt burden and suffering of the other. A creed of abstract truths, or a catechism of general principles, and a completely digested list of grievances, although altogether are not enough to adjust a practical reform of its proper work, else Prophets and Apostles and earnest world-menders in general would have been more successful and left us less to wish and to do.

It is one thing to issue a declaration of rights or a declarations of wrongs to the world, but quite another thing wisely and happily to commend the subject to the world's acceptance, *and* so to secure the desired reformation. Every element of sucess is in its own place and degree, equally important, but the very starting point is the adjustment of the reformer to his work, and next after that is the adjustment of his work to those conditions of the times which he seeks to influence.

Those who prefer the end in view to all other things, are not contented with their own zeal and the discharge of their duty to their conscience. They desire the highest good for their fellow-beings and are not satisfied with merely clearing their own skirts, and they esteem martyrdom a failure at least if not a fault, in the method of their action. It is not the salvation of their own souls they are thinking of, but the salvation of the world; and they will not willingly accept a discharge or a rejection in its stead. It is their business to preach righteousness and rebuke sin, but they have no quarrel with "the world that lieth in wickedness, and their mission is not merely to judge and condemn, but to save alike the oppressor and the oppressed. Right principles and conformable means are the first necessities of a great enterprise, but without right apprehensions and tempers and expedient methods, the most beneficent surprises must utterly fail. Who is sufficient for these things?

Divine Providence has been baffled through all the ages of disorder and suffering for want of fitting agents and adopted means. Reformations of religion have proved but a little better than the substitution of a new error for an old one, and civil revolutions have re-robed themselves into mere civil insurrections, until history has become but a monument of buried hopes.

The European movement of 1848 was wanting neither in theory nor example for its safe direction, but it has nevertheless almost fallen into contempt.

We may not, therefore, rely upon a good cause and good intentions alone, without danger of deplorable disappointment.

The reformation which we purpose, in its utmost scope, is radical and universal. It is not the mere perfecting of a progress already in motion, a detail of some established plan, but it is an epochal movement. The emancipation of a class, the redemption of half the world, and a conforming re-organization of all social, political and industrial interests and institutions. Moreover it is a movement without example among the enterprises of associated reformations, for it has no purpose of arming the oppressed against the oppressor, or of separating the parties, or setting up independence, or of severing the relations of either.

Its intended changes are to be wrought in the intimate texture of all societary organizations, without violence, or any form of antagonism. It seeks to replace the worn out with the living and the beautiful, so as to reconstruct without overturning, and to regenerate without destroying; and nothing of the spirit, tone, temper or method of insurrection, is proper or allowable to us and our work.

Human Societies have been long working and fighting their way up from what we scornfully call barbarism, into what we boastfully call modern civilization; but as yet the advancement has been chiefly in ordering and methodizing the lower instincts of our nature, and organizing Society under their impulses. The intellect of the masses has received immense development, and the gentler affections have got something relieved from the dominion of force; but the institutions among men are not yet modelled after the highest things in our natures.—The masterdom of the strong hand and bold spirit is not yet over, for men have not yet established all those natural claims against each other which seem to demand physical force and physical courage for their vindication. But the age of war is drawing towards a close, and that of peace (whose methods and end alike are harmony) is dawning, and the uprising of womanhood is its prophecy and foretaste.

The first principles of human rights have now for a long time been abstractly held and believed, and both in Europe and America whole communities have put them into practical operation in some of their bearings. Equality before the law, and the right of the governed to choose their governers, are established maxims of reformed political science, but in the countries most advanced, these doctrines and their actual benefits are as yet enjoyed exclusively by the sex that in the battle and the public forum have wrenched them from old time tyrannies. Woman is yet denied them, because she has not yet *so* asserted or won them for herself, for political justice still pivots itself upon the barbarous principle that "Who would be free, *themselves* must strike the blow." Its furtherest progress toward magnanimity is to give *alms* to helplessness. It has not yet learned to *give* justice. For this rule of barbarism there is this much justification, that although every human being is naturally entitled to every right of the race, the enjoyment and administration of all rights require such culture and conditions of their subject as usually leads him to claim and struggle for them; and the contented slave is left in slavery, and the ignorant man in darkness, on the inference that he cannot use what he does not desire. This is indeed true of the animal instincts, but it is false of the nobler *soul*, and men must learn that the higher faculties must be first awakened and then gratified before they have done their duty to their race. The ministry of the *angels* to dependent humanity is the method of Divine Providence, and among men the law of heaven is, the "elder shall serve the younger." But let us not complain that the hardier sex overvalue the force which heretofore has figured most in the world's affairs. "They know not what they do," is the apology that crucified womanhood must concede in justice and pity to the wrong doers. In the order of things the material world was first subdued. For this coarse conflict the larger bones and stronger sinews of manhood were especially adapted, and it is a law of muscles and of all matter that might shall overcome right. It is the law of the vegetable world, and it is the law of the animal world, as well as the law of universal instincts and the physical organization of man too; but it is not the law of spirit and affection. They are of that nature which charge themselves with the atonement for all evils, and burden themselves with all the sufferings which they would remove.

This wisdom is pure and peaceable and gentle, and full of mercy and of good fruits.

Beside the feebler frame, which under the dynasty of muscles, degrades there remains, even after justice has got the upper hand of force in the world's judgments, a mysterious and undefined difference of sex that seriously embarrasses the question of equality, or, if that is granted in terms of equal fitness, for avocations and positions which heretofore have been the monopoly of men. Old ideas and habits of mind survive the facts which produced them, as the shadows of night stretch far into the morning, sheltered in nooks and valleys from the rising light; and it is the work of a whole creation day to separate the light from the darkness.

The rule of differences between the sexes must of necessity be the things which each estimates most highly in the other, and it is not at all wonderful that some of woman's artificial incapacities and slaveries may seem to be necessary to some of her excellencies, just as the chivalry that makes man a butcher of his kind still glosses like a glory in the eyes of admiring womanhood, and all the more because it seems so much above and unlike her own powers and achievements. Nature does not teach that men are unequal, but only that they are unlike, an unlikeness so naturally related and dependent that their respective differences in their balance establish, instead of destroy, their equality.

Men are not in fact, and to all intents, equal among themselves, but their theoretical equality for all the purposes of justice is more easily seen and allowed than what we are here to claim for women. Higher views, nicer distinctions, and a deeper philosophy are required to see and feel the truth of woman's rights; and beside, the maxims upon which men distribute justice to each other have been battle cries for *ages*, while the doctrine of woman's true relations in life is a new science, the revelation of an advanced age perhaps, indeed the very last grand movement of humanity towards its highest destiny—too new to be yet fully understood, too grand to grow out of the broad and coarse generalities which the infancy and barbarism of society could comprehend.

The rule of force and fraud must be well nigh overturned, and learning and religion, and the fine arts must have cultivated the earth into the tone of wisdom and justice tempered by the most beneficent affections before woman can be fully installed in her highest offices. We must be gentle with the ignorance and patient under the injustice which these causes induce. Long suffering is a quality of the highest wisdom, and charity beareth all things for it hopeth all things. It will be seen that I am assuming the point that the redemption of the inferior if it comes at all must come from the superior. The elevation of a favored caste can have no other providential purpose than that when it is elevated near enough to goodness and truth, it shall draw up its dependencies with it.

But however this may be in the affairs of men as they are involved with each other, it is clearly so in the matter of Woman's elevation. The tyrant sex, if such we choose to term it, holds such natural and necessary relations to the victims of injustice that neither rebellion nor revolution, neither defiance nor resistance, nor any mode of assault or defence incident to party antagonism are either possible, expedient or proper. Our claim must rest in its justice, and conquer by its converting truth. We take the ground that whatever has been achieved for the race belongs to it, and must not be usurped by any class or caste. The rights and liberties of one human being cannot be made the property of another, though they were redeemed for him or her by the life of another, for rights cannot be forfeited by way of salvage, and they are in their nature unpurchasable and inalienable.

We claim for Woman a full and generous investure of all the blessings which the other sex has solely or by her aid achieved for themselves. We appeal from their injustice and selfishness to their principles and affections.

For some centuries now, the best of them have been asserting with their lives the liberties and rights of the race; and it is not for the few endowed with the highest intellect, the largest frame, or even the soundest morals, that the claim has been maintained, and broadly and bravely and nobly it has been held that wherever a faculty is given, its highest activities are chartered by the creator, and all objects alike whether they minister to the necessities of our animal life or to the superior powers of the human soul, and so become wants more imperative, because nobler than the bread that perishes in the usage, are of common right equally open to ALL, and that all artificial restraints, for whatever reason imposed, are alike culpable for their presumption, their folly and their cruelty.

It is pitiable ignorance and arrogance for either man or woman now to prescribe and limit the sphere of woman. It remains for the greatest women whom appropriate culture and happiest influences shall yet develop, to say and to show what are woman's capacities and relations in the world.

I will not accept the concession of an equality which means identity or resemblance of faculty and function. I do not base her claims upon any such parallelism of construction or attainment. I ask only freedom for the natural unfolding of her powers, the conditions most favorable for her possibilities of growth and the full play of all their incentives, which have made man her master, and then with all her natural impulses and the whole heaven of hope to invite. I ask that she shall fill the place that she can attain to, without setting any unmeaning questions of sex and sphere, that people gossip about for want of principles of truth or the faculty to reason upon them.

But it is not with the spheres of our reform and the discussion of them that I am now concerned. It is of its position in the world's opinion and the causes that I am thinking; and I seek to derive hints and suggestions as to the method and manner of successful advocacy from the inquiry: but especially am I solicitous that the good cause may suffer no detriment from the theoretical principles its friends may assume, or the spirit with which they shall maintain them. It is fair to presume that such causes as have obscured the questions in the general judgment of the governing sex must also more or less darken the counsels of those most anxious for truth and right. If our demand were simply for chartered rights, civil and political, such as get acknowledgement in paper constitutions, there would be no ground of doubt. We would plead our common humanity and claim its equal justice. We have no trouble in saying that the natural right of self government is so clearly due to every human being alike that it needs no argument; and if some or a majority of women would not exercise this right, there is no ground for taking it from those who would. And the question of the control and enjoyment of her own property and partnerships in all that she helps her husband to earn and save, needs only to be stated to command instant assent. Her appropriate avocations might not be so easily settled that a programme could be completed on theoretical principles merely; but we need argue no such difficulties while we ask only for liberty of choice and opportunities of adaptation, and her education is solved by the simple principle that whatever she can receive is her absolute due.

Yet all these points being so easily disposed of, so far as they are mere matters of controversy, the advocates of the right need none the less the wisest and kindest consideration for all the resistance we must encounter, and the most forbearing patience under the injustice and insolence to which we must expose ourselves. And we can help ourselves to much of the prudence and some of the knowledge we shall need, by treating the prejudices of the public as considerately as if they were principles, and the customs of society as if they once had some temporary necessity, and so meet them with the greater force for all the consequences which we concede to them. For a prejudice is just like any other error of judgment, and a custom has sometimes had some fitness to things more or less necessary, and is not an utter absurdity, even though the reason on which it was based is lost or removed. Who shall say that there is nothing serious, or respectable, or just, in the repugnance with which our propositions are received. The politician who knows his own corruption may be excused for an earnest wish to save his wife and daughter from the taint, and he must be excused, too, for not knowing that the corruption would be cured by the saving virtue for which he dreads the risk.

There may be real though very foolish tenderness in the motive which refuses to open the trades and professions that she could cultivate and practice with equal profit and credit to herself. The chivalry that worships womanhood is not mean, though, it at the same time enslaves the objects of its over fond care.

And it is even possible that men may deprive women of their property and liberties, personal and political, with the kindly purpose of accommodating their supposed incapacities for the offices and duties of human life. Harsh judgments and harsh words, will neither weaken the opposition nor stengthen our hands. Our address is to the highest sentiment of the times, and the tone, and spirit due to it and becoming to ourselves, is courtesy and respectfulness. All the strength and truth of complaint, and all the eloquence of denunciation are easy of attainment, but the wisdom of affirmative principles and positive science are the adjustment of reformatory measures to the exigencies of the times and circumstances, are just as much more useful as they are more difficult. A profound expediency, as true to principle as it is careful of success, is, above all things, difficult and necessary. We have to claim liberty without its usually associated independence. We must insist on separate property where the interests are identical, and a division of profits where the very being of the partners is blended. We must demand provision for differences of policy, where there should be no shadow of controversy; and the free choice of industrial avocations and general education, without respect to the distinctions of sex and natural differences of faculty.

In principle these things are not difficult or doubtful, and they are therefore not impossible or hopeless in practice, but they need great clearness in system and steadiness of direction to get them allowance and adoption in the actual life of the world. The opposition should be consulted where it can be done without injurious consequences. Truth must not be suppressed, nor principles crippled. Yet strong meats should not be given to babes. Nor should the strong use their liberties so as to become a stumbling block to the weak. Above all things, we owe it to the earnest expectation of the age that stands trembling in mingled hope and fear of the great experiment, to lay its foundations broadly and securely in philosophic truth, and to form and fashion it in practical righteousness. To accomplish this we cannot be too careful or to brave, too gentle or to firm, and yet with right dispositions and honest efforts we cannot fail of doing our share of the great work and thereby advancing the highest interests of humanity.

In the afternoon of the same day,

REV. WM. H. CHANNING, from the Committee on Business, read the following resolution, prepared by Mrs. Ernestine Rose, of New York:

Whereas, The very contracted sphere of action prescribed for Woman, arising from an unjust view of her nature, capacities, and powers, and from the infringement of her just rights, as an equal with man, is highly injurious to her physical, mental and moral development: Therefore,

Resolved, That we will not cease our earnest endeavors to secure for her political, legal and social equality with man, until her proper sphere is determined, by what alone should determine it, her Powers and Capacities, strengthened and refined by an education in accordance with her nature.

MR. CHANNING made some very earnest remarks on the subject. He spoke with warm approbation of the address of the last speaker. He thanked God that one woman had shown the moral courage to stand out and claim the rights that belonged to her nature. He spoke of the evil that had been named, prostitution. He described its corrupting influence upon society, from a child, through all the grades of human life, up to manhood or womanhood. It poisons and vitiates the institution of marriage; it destroys the confidence that should exist between husband and wife: it spreads its contamination over the whole of human life. He pointed out a remedy. Let man exclude from his society every man whom he knows to have sacrificed his virtue to sinful lusts. Men pretend to value chastity and virginity in woman! Let him prove it by valuing chastity and virginal purity in man.

MRS. ERNESTIEN ROSE, of New York, spoke with great eloquence on the subject of the resolution. Her French accent and extemporaneous manner added quite a charm to her animated and forcible style. Woman, she asked, who is she? She is the mother, the wife, and the sister of man. Is she not coequal with man? Has she not like powers of mind, like sentiments, faculties and affections given her for culture and improvement? Why, in the name of common sense, she would ask, is she not equal in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? But she is not equal before the law. During her minority she is the property of her parent, and when she attains her majority, and enters the relation of marriage, she is transferred from the parent to the husband. If she had her rights and was properly educated, marriage would be the union of two hearts from real affections, bound in the bonds of the purest affections, instead of being as it now too frequently is, an artificial bond producing often more misery than happiness. She said a just indignation was felt by the community on account of the law which delivers up the fugitive slave to oppression But it was no more unjust than some of the laws are towards women. If a woman is compelled, by the tyranny and ill-treatmentof her husband, to leave him and seek a refuge among her friends, the law will deliver her up into his hands. He may compel her return. She did not propose to examine the laws that bear so unequally upon woman. What she claimed was that the laws should be made equally for both

She said, when a father and mother have a son born to them, what do they ask themselves? They sit down and consult together about his education; how he shall be trained and fitted for usefulness in life. If they have a daughter, what do they ask? nothing. Girls are educated with one single aim, she felt ashamed to say it. And what was that aim? It is to catch a husband. She is educated in accordance with man's desires, wishes and aims, and it is no wonder that she has not risen to the true level of her womanhood. Woman has never yet received an education for the higher purposes of life. Why should she not be made acquainted with the arts, the sciences, and the philosophies of life? With all the obstacles that exist to her elevation, there are brilliant instances of her success in all that has adorned and rendered great the character and fame of man. She had even acquired distinction on the field of battle. She trusted that if ever woman touched the sword, it would be to sheath it in its scabbard forever.

She maintained that woman could study successfully any of the professions. Is perseverance necessary? She possesses it. Look at her by the bed of sickness, where toil and sacrifice are needed. Who is it that holds out to the last? It is feeble woman! Look at man when he is ready to give up with despair. Who is it that upholds and strengthens him? It is feeble woman. It is the being whom society assigns an inferior in rank and position in life. She mentioned that woman was as heroic as man, and often exhibited a higher heroism, with which that displayed in the battle-field is cowardice. She contended for woman's rights, not so much for her benefit as for the benefit of the world. She pointed out the evils of Society under its present organization, and made a strong appeal to the reason and moral sense of her audience, to give their influence to the cause.

Her speech was received with applause by a large and intelligent audience, as were also the speeches of Mrs. Mott, Mrs. Price, and Mr. Channing. The hall was very crowded, and the audience seemed to have caught the spirit of the speakers.

The report of the evening session is fuller, and that we copy nearly in full:

REV. WM. H. CHANNING. He advocated the wisdom, the propriety and duty of opening our institutions of learning, our medical schools, our colleges and high schools to both sexes indiscriminately. Women should be admitted to all these privileges as her right. He alluded to a remark quoted from the gentleman who had objected to women having equal rights, because it would make them *manish*. He said it was a foolish expression. There was no possibility that such a thing could happen. God's law of spiritual order could never be set aside. He spoke of Woman in the industrial pursuits. She should have the opportunity to use all her powers, in every form of industry she may choose. There should be no obstacle in the way of her raising herself to personal independence. She should be trained for the coequal rights of man in every respect. She should be represented in the legislation of the country, and the administration of the laws. She should have the right to sit on a jury; to be tried by the peers.

He did not know whether this would ever be obtained by suffrage or not; but woman's judgment and woman's heart shall yet be felt in the very centre of legislation. The purity of wisdom and of heart which belongs to woman is not expressed in the Church, nor in the State. It is shut out from the pulpit and the halls of legislation. But there is a method he would suggest, by which it could be made to bear on the public heart and mind. Let there be an *Annual* Congress of Women, to whom there shall be a standard of moral appeal, and their influence shall be felt far and wide. He alluded to the appeal of Miss Catherine Beecher in behalf of her friend. He honored her for the skill and noble manner in which she had executed her work, and especially that it evinced her true womanhood. Suppose such an annual meeting of a Congress of women could be held, in which women of years and full of honor should be found, and young women; and then let an association of orthodox clergymen uphold a young man in a course of conduct so dishonorable and unmanly, and the moral sentiment of such a body of women, in their congregated might, would fall upon them like an avalanche. In such a Congress they might make their higher sentiments bear on the evils of War, of Slavery, and on the interests of Power and Freedom. He advocated the wisdom and propriety of establishing orders of women. Our Catholic friends established orders of this kind, and he did not know why Protestants might not do the same thing. Why should there not be an order of women, composed of those who do not chose to encumber themselves with the ties of marriage? and why might they not plant themselves on a domain, invest their property, and engage in such industrial operations as might suit their capacities and tastes; and here would be a place, where woman, driven from the family circle, by the tyranny of a husband, a brother, son, might find a home, and a place for the enjoyment of her powers. Said he, "Sisters, you know I am speaking the solemn fact when I say that there are thousands of women, who wet their pillow with their tears every night, in consequence of the tyranny to which they are subjected by their position, and who do not know where to stand." Such an order of women would give them hope and reliance in attempting their own emancipation.

MRS. LUCRETIA MOTT said: The language of those who favor our cause implies a degree of kindness when they speak of *giving* us our rights, *permitting* us to receive them; but she was not disposed to receive them in that way; she was in favor of *demanding* them in the name of our common humanity. She wanted a resolution framed that should express this demand. She wanted Woman's freedom and independence acknowledged as a right; that they should be secured to her, yielded, not given: that those restrictions which have prevented her from rising to her true position should be removed, leaving her a fair opportunity to rise in the scale of being, and make herself what God designed she should be. That she sometimes does this despite the obstacles that surround her, is evidence of her capacity. There are some signs of progress and encouragement to cheer us onward. A Medical School is instituted in Philadelphia for the education of female physicians, and a large number have already entered their names as students. An Academy of Design is also established, where Women may learn a knowledge of drawing and design, which shall enable them to find useful employments. Journeymen tailors and tailoresses are forming associations so as to do business for themselves, and the value and dignity of labor is rising and will command its proper reward to the Woman as well as to the Man. Woman's labor has not been appreciated, but it is coming to be appreciated. And many Women, by sufferance, to some extent, are raising their voices in the name of religion and humanity. In the Society to which she belonged, and among one or two other Societies she named, Women stand on an equality with Men, and have the same rights of speech. But this was not generally the case.

She regretted that so much time had been wasted in applying the Bible argument to these reforms. All we have to do is to step forward in the right, and the theologians will have to do this work, of reconciling the Bible with these principles of everlasting truth and right. She alluded to the writings of George and Andrew Combe as having at first encountered this objection, that the truths they taught of Phrenology and Philosophy were opposed to the Bible. A work was written to refute them on this ground. But while the works of these men had reached many editions, it had fallen into oblivion, and now an appendix is written by an American Divine to show the *harmony* between them. Mr. Combe, probably, had no objection to this, but it was not his work. He left that to the ecclesiastics. And so it had been with the other sciences and in the Anti-Slavery reform. She was not understood to want reverence or respect for the Bible, but the work of reconciling any apparent or imaginary conflicts was not their appropriate work. They should stand forth on the great principles of justice and humanity; and she alluded to the fact that there were "honorable women, not a few," who had dared to prophesy in the name of Christ.

She alluded to the application of Women to be admitted to the World's Convention a few years ago. It was a great era in the progress of Reform. The signs of the times all show that Woman is alive and awakening to a sense of her degraded and inferior position, and is beginning to demand her rights—not begging for a privilege, but demanding a full recognition of that to which she is entitled by virtue of her humanity.

She made reference to the language of Mrs. Foster, who she feared would be construed to favor the use of violence and bloodshed as one of the means of obtaining these rights. She thought she might not be understood. What she said on that subject was based upon the supposition that certain other things were right. She wished that her friend had given her own views of the subject. Mrs. Mott then went on in a few eloquent and powerful remarks, to urge that the weapons of their warfare were not carnal, but spiritual, and mighty through God, to the pulling down of strongholds. That they must fight with the sword of the spirit, even the word of God; they must appeal to the pure sentiments of the mind, and the justice of their cause. She was opposed to any twaddle on that subject, as well as her friend. We want to speak earnestly and truly the words of honest and sober conviction. We want to speak in tones of reproof to those on whom the guilt of these wrongs rests. We want to say as Jesus did "Ye fools and blind," "Ye hypocrites," and to our Sisters, who are still indifferent and contented with their position "O, thou slothful and slow of heart, rise up in the strength of thy Womanhood, and Christ shall give thee light." There is no greater mistake than to suppose that what is called non-resistance is a timid and inefficient method of meeting those evils. It is the strongest kind of resistance—the resistance of moral sentiment, of justice and truth. It will not permit us to injure our fellow beings, to take their lives, but it leaves to us that higher resistance which comes from God.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, on behalf of the Business Committee, read the following series of resolutions:

Resolved, That every human being of full age, and resident for a proper length of time on the soil of the nation, who is required to obey the law, is entitled to a voice in its enactment; that every such person whose property or labor is taxed for the support of the government, is entitled to a direct share in such government; therefore,

Resolved, That Women are clearly entitled to the right of suffrage, and to be considered eligible to office, the omission to demand which on their part is a palpable recreancy to duty; and the denial of which is a gross usurpation on the part of man—no longer to be endured—and that every party which claims to represent the humanity, the civilization and the progress of the age, is bound to inscribe on its banners, Equality before the law, without distinction of sex or color.

Resolved, That civil and political rights acknowledge no sex, and therefore the word "male" should be stricken from every State Constitution.

MR. PHILLIPS remarked that he felt interested in this movement, because it promises to bring to the cause of humanity, in its struggle with wrong, the intellect and heart of one half the world, who, by their position, have been kept from exerting their full share of influence and power. The rights to which Woman is entitled are of two kinds, natural and political rights. Whichever of these is first secured the other will soon follow. He was inclined to think the former would be realized first—the right to determine for herself what shall be her profession, what kind of industry shall engage her attention; what studies she shall pursue, and how she shall dispose of her property. But he regarded the question of political rights as of great importance. He thought Woman ought to be equally eligible to offices of responsibility and trust in the Government; to vote, and to a voice in the enactment of laws. She should be represented in the Courts and in the Jury box. He differed from Mr Channing so far as Mr. C. would compose a Jury exclusively of one sex or the other. He would not have a woman tried by a Jury entirely of her own sex, nor a colored person by those of his own color But he thought sex and color should be mingled up before the law. The Jury is one of the means of making us feel our rights and responsibilities. De Tocqueville had said of the French nation, that they never could have a Republic till the trial by Jury was consumated. The influence of the Jury box is very great. But Woman is denied all this by her exclusion from it.

The feudal ages and customs, he said, had given us our laws, and they abolished Woman. Our social customs have come from the Hebrews, with a touch of the classic, and these abolished Woman. We need, therefore, to run the ploughshare of reform deep through the soil which has given growth to our present institutions and customs. This is, therefore, a most thorough and radical reform.

He did not think all the guilt of these wrongs to which woman are subjected rested on Man. He thought Woman must share equally the guilt with him. We are in part the creatures of circumstances as we are what the past has made us, and these wrongs have grown up, or continued to exist, not from an intention of wrong on the part of Men, but from ignorance. We have inherited these customs; very few men ever get beyond the smoke of their father's cabins.

He thought the annual sessions of this Convention of great importance. He would place the papers that have been read here to-day on record and have them printed and they would be looked at hereafter as a Declaration of Rights. A series of these Conventions will gather around them the sympathy and moral sentiment of society. He would leave it to a standing Committee to call them annually at a convenient time and place. No other organization is needed. What we want is to change *public* opinion. Women had as much influence as men in the formation of public opinion, and here again was there responsibility resting upon them. It is public opinion that deprives Woman of most of her rights. When this public opinion is reformed the barriers and restrictions thrown around Woman will fall almost imperceptibly. What we want is martyrs in this cause—martyrs to this public opinion. The dear friend who preceded him (Lucretia Mott) had done more by her example, in discussing and speaking on great moral questions, for the cause than a thousand tracts. The Legislature will open its doors when the pressure of public opinion outside becomes too great to bear, and no sooner. Politics will change as public opinion changes. This public opinion is slow in its growth and formation. The public mind is like a stone on which the water drops continually till it is worn away. The public mind is silly and foolish. It is affected more by epigrams, and jokes, and ridicule, than by the power of reason and truth. It was by such means that Louis Philippe in one night lost his crown. If he had possessed the courage of his wife his throne might have been standing to this day. The influence of truth and right upon the public conscience and heart is gradual and slow. The massive architecture of the Romans looks as if it were built to stand through eternity; but the weeds grow out from its crevices and send their roots among its huge masses, and the frosts of an Italian sky gradually seperate them, undermining the monuments of the Cæsars, until they can crumble down in piles of broken ruins.

MRS. ROSE of New-York, made another of her effective and eloquent speeches, in which she alluded to our Pilgrim *Fathers*, and the pride and reverence with which they were often referred to. But said she "Who has heard of the Pilgrim *Mothers*? Did they not endure as many perils, and encounter as many hardships and do as much to form and fashion the institution of New-England, as the Pilgrim Fathers? Yet they are hardly remembered.

MRS LUCRETIA MOTT, made another impressive speech, in which she fixed the blame of these wrongs of Woman on the wrong doer. She did not believe in *abstract* wrong. Where there is oppression there is an oppressor. She thought the wrong in this case rested on man, and he should be held responsible for it. She marvelled that her friend Wendell Phillips should take the view he did. He did not reason thus when he spoke of the wrongs of the Slave.

MR. PHILLIPS said he cheerfully submitted to the criticism of his friend, while he maintained his position that the guilt of these wrongs should be divided between the sexes. There were none who would ridicule these conventions more than those for whose benefit they were designed. It will be more difficult to meet the sarcasm of the women than to reach the conviction of men on this subject.

He maintained Woman's rights to property, from the fact that she was capable of *earning* property, and therefore she had the right of ownership. She could be punished by the laws, and therefore she was entitled to a voice in their enactment.

The proceedings on Thursday were commenced with the reading of letters to the Convention, which we omit, and proceed to the report of speeches and Resolutions at the morning session:

MISS HARRIET K. HUNT, of Boston, read a very forcibly written address on the Medical Education of Women. She urged the need of this branch of reform, showing that Women needs the sympathy and counsel of one of her own sex in certain critical periods of her life, and when suffering from disease. She showed Woman's peculiar fitness for the duties of the medical profession; and urged that she should stand side by side with man in the healing art. She had devoted herself, for the last fourteen years, to the practice of medicine. She took it up from inclination and a sense of duty, and she had met with great encouragement and success.

At the close of her address, which was delivered in an impressive manner, and received with applause, she gave an account of an application she made in 1847 to attend the lectures of the Massachusetts Medical College, and the refusal of that institution to grant her request. She read the letters that passed between herself and Dr. O. W. Holmes, the Dean of the College, on the subject. The Government of the College passed a vote that it was "*inexpedient*."

The following resolutions were offered by Wendell Phillips:

Resolved, That, since the prospect of honorable and useful employment, in after life, for the faculties we are laboring to discipline, is the honest stimulus to fidelity, in the use of Educational advantages; and, since the best education is that we give ourselves, in the struggles, employments, and discipline of life, therefore it is impossible that Woman should make full use of the instruction already accorded to her, or that her career should do justice to her faculties, until the avenues to the various civil and professional employments are thrown open, to arouse her ambition, and call forth all her nature.

2 *Resolved*, That every effort to educate Woman, until you accord to her her rights, and arouse her conscience by the weight of her responsibilities, is futile and a waste of labor.

3. *Resolved*, That the laws of property, as affecting married parties, demand a thorough revisal, so that all rights be equal between them; that the wife have, during life, an equal control over the property gained by their mutual toil and sacrifices;—and be heir to her husband, precisely to that extent that he is heir to her, and entitled at her death to dispose by will, of the same share of the joint property as he is.

4. *Resolved*, That the cause we are met to advocate, the claims for Woman of all her natural and civil rights, binds us to remember the million and a half of wronged and fouly outraged, of all Women; and in every effort for an improvement in our civilization, we will bear, in our heart of hearts, the memory of the trampled womanhood of the plantation, and omit no effort to raise it to a share in the rights we claim for ourselves

The following preamble and resolution was read from the Business Committee:

Whereas, The great fundamental law of truth, that moral and intelligent beings are bound to *obey God rather than man*, is as much binding on woman as man; therefore,

Resolved, That it is the imperious duty of every woman to obey the dictates of her own enlightened conscience, in all matters of religion and benevolence, without asking the consent of her father or husband

The following resolutions were read by Mr. Channing, from the Business Committee:

Resolved, That as Women alone can learn by experience, and prove by works, what is their rightful sphere of duties, we recommend as NEXT STEPS, that they should demand and secure:

1. *Education*, in Primary and High Schools, Universities, Medical, Legal and Theological Institutions, as comprehensive and exact as their abilities prompt them to seek, and their capabilities fit them to receive.

2. *Partnership* in the labors and gains, risks and remunerations, of productive industry, with such limits as are assigned by taste, intuitive judgment, or their measure of spiritual and physical vigor, as tested by requirement.

3. *A co-equal share* in the formation and administration of Laws—Municipal, State and National, through Legislative Assemblies, Courts and Executive offices.

4. *Such Social and Spiritual Union* as will enable them to be the Guardians of pure and honorable manners—a high Court of Appeal, in cases of outrage, which cannot be and are not touched by Civil and Ecclesiastical organizations, as at present existing, and a medium of expressing the highest moral and spiritual views of Justice, dictated by Human Conscience and sanctioned by Holy Inspirations.

Resolved, That a Central Committee be appointed by this Convention with *four* sub-Committees, empowered to enlarge their numbers: 1st, On Education; 2d, Industrial avocations; 3d, Civil and Political Rights and Regulations; 4th, Social Relations, who shall correspond with each other and with the Central Committee; hold meetings in their respective neighborhoods; gather statistics, facts and illustrations; raise funds for purposes of publication; and, through the press, tracts and books, guide public opinion upward and onward, in this great Social Reform of establishing Woman's Coequal Sovereignty with Man.

In accordance with the foregoing resolutions, the following persons were appointed to constitute said Committees:

CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—PAULINA W. DAVIS, Providence, R. I., Chairman; Sarah H. Earle, Worcester, Mass., Secretary; William H. Channing, Boston, Massachusetts.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.—ELIZA BARNEY, Nantucket, Mass., Chairman; Marian Blackwell, Cincinnati, Ohio, Secretary; Elizabeth C. Stanton, Seneca Falls, N. Y.; Eliza Taft, Dedham, Mass.; Mrs. Addison Brown, Battleboro', Vt.; Calvin Fairbanks, Hannah Darlington, Kennet Sq., Pa.

COMMITTE ON INDUSTRIAL AVOCATIONS.—CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston, Mass., Chairman; Philenda Jones, Worcester, Mass., Secretary; Hannah K. Hunt, Boston; Mary Ann McClintock, Waterloo, N. Y.; Elizabeth Blackwell, Cincinnati, Ohio; Benj. S. Trenor, Boston; Ebenezer D. Draper, Hopewell, Mass.; Phebe Goodwin, Delaware Co., Penn.; Alice Jackson, Westchester, Penn.; Maria Ware, Dublin, Ireland.

COMMITTEE ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL FUNCTIONS.—Mrs. ERNESTINE ROSE, of New York, Chairman; Lucy Stone, West Brookfield, Mass., Secretary; Wendell Phillips, Boston; Hannah Stickney, Philadelphia; Sarah Hallock, Milton, Mass.; Abby K. Foster, Worcester, Mass.; Wm. L. Garrison, Boston; Elizabeth Stanton, Seneca Falls, N. Y.

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RELATIONS.—LUCRETIA MOTT, of Philadelphia, Penn., Chairman; Wm. H. Channing of Boston, Mass., Secretary; Anna Q. T. Parsons, Boston, Mass.; Wm. Fish, Hopedale, Mass.; Rebecca Plumley, Philadelphia, Penn.; Elizabeth B. Chase, Valley Falls, N. Y.; J. G. Forman, West-Bridgewater, Mass.; Abby H. Price, Hopedale, Mass.; Mary Grew, Philadelphia.

Miss BROWN, of Oberlin, was introduced to the Convention as a young lady who had studied Theology in the Oberlin Institute, and fitted herself to preach the Gospel, with a view of devoting her life to that work. She was of the orthodox faith, but had been refused ordination. She intended, nevertheless, to devote herself to that calling. She addressed the Convention in a very clear, logical and eloquent speech, delivered extemporaneously. She took up the objections drawn from the Bible against Woman's rights. And *first*, of the passage, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee." This, she maintained, was not given as a law of God, but a prediction of what should befall her in the state of sin and moral death to which they had fallen. She quoted language of the same tenor addressed to the Serpent: "Thou shalt bruise his heel" Now, she said, it would be absurd to suppose Satan had the divine authority for trying to injure Christ and his cause. And yet the language was the same in both cases. She showed that man had ruled over woman in the exercise of his tyranny and superior physical force. But she denied the right.

She took up the language of Paul, "Wives submit yourselves to your husbands," and showed that this was an injunction to submit to a necessary evil, in that condition of human society, which she could not remove, and to do this in a Christian spirit. It did not by any means recognize the authority of husbands to rule. They were expressly directed not to rule one over another. She dwelt also on the objection that women have no time for mental improvement, and showed how labor-saving machines were relieving her of toil, and would give her time. Spinning and sewing are now done by machinery. This portion of her argument was full and interesting, much of which we are obliged to omit. The young lady showed herself an ingenious theologian, a good scholar, an easy speaker, and her spirit was truly religious and modest. Every one felt that her vindication of the Rights of Woman from objections urged on Bible grounds was triumphant.

C. C. BURLEIGH next addressed the Convention. The objection had been made that Woman had no time for the culture and improvement of her mind, and the exercise of those rights which were claimed for her. He regarded this fact, if it were true, as an argument that there is something in woman's position and relation.—But there was no reason why a womnn should not have time. If she has a family of children, her husband should share the care of them. And if mankind would be more simple in their habits, their diet and clothing, there would be plenty of time.

He would add one thought to what had been said on the Bible argument. The same language that has been quoted in